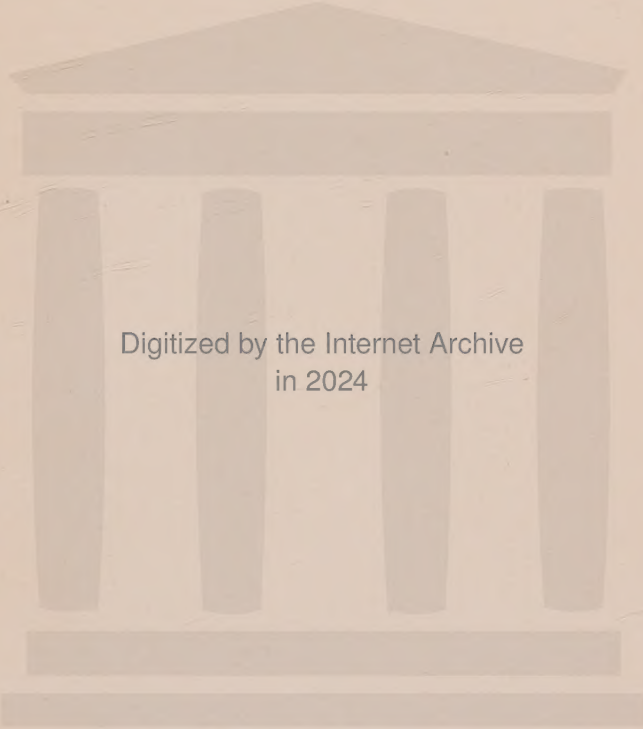


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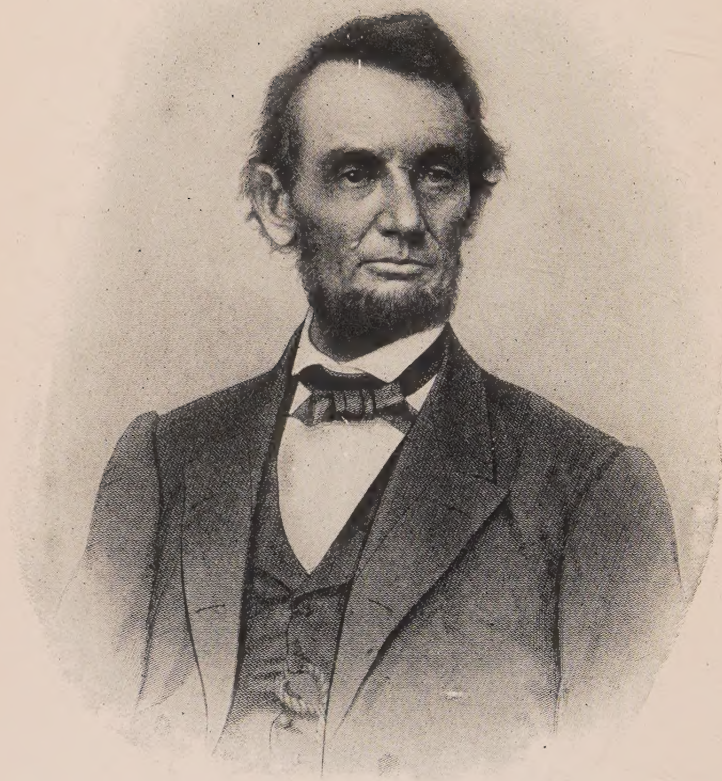


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LINCOLN

From a photograph from Life by Brady

Larned's
History of the World
or
Seventy Centuries
of the Life of Mankind

A SURVEY OF HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS
THROUGH ALL STAGES OF CIVILIZATION, IN ALL
IMPORTANT COUNTRIES, DOWN TO
THE PRESENT TIME

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF PREHISTORIC
PEOPLES, AND WITH CHARACTER SKETCHES
OF THE CHIEF PERSONAGES OF EACH
HISTORIC EPOCH

Josephus
By J. N. LARNED

EDITOR OF THE FAMOUS "HISTORY FOR READY REFERENCE," AND AUTHOR OF
"A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS,"
"A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR SCHOOLS," ETC.

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CHAPTER XXI

FROM THE ADVENT OF GEORGE STEPHENSON AND THE STEAM RAILWAY TO THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(1830 to 1860)

Era of the railway and the telegraph. *Great Britain:* First reform of parliament.—Opening of the reign of Queen Victoria.—The Chartist movement.—Repeal of corn laws.—Free trade legislation.—Peel.—Gladstone.—Disraeli.—Ireland and O'Connell's agitation. *European Revolutions of 1848 and after:* Italy.—France.—Germany.—Hungary.—*Coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon.—The Crimean War.—Liberation and unification of Italy. *The United States:* Andrew Jackson president.—Jackson and nullification.—Jackson and the United States Bank.—The financial collapse of 1837.—President Van Buren.—Formation of the Whig party.—Rise of the Abolitionists.—Agitation of the slavery question.—Annexation of Texas.—War with Mexico.—Acquisition of California, New Mexico, etc.—Question of slavery in the new territory.—Compromise of 1850.—Fugitive slave law.—"Uncle Tom's Cabin."—Stephen A. Douglas.—Doctrine of "popular sovereignty."—Kansas-Nebraska bill.—Rise of Republican party.—Struggle for Kansas.—Dred Scott decision.—Lecompton constitution for Kansas.—Douglas Democratic revolt.—Douglas and Lincoln debates.—John Brown's invasion of Virginia.—Election of Abraham Lincoln. *British America:* Rebellion in the Canadas.—Reunion of the two provinces. *Australia and New Zealand:* Founding of the colonies of Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, New Zealand, and Queensland.—Discoveries of gold. *India and Afghanistan:* Tragedy of the Afghan war.—The sepoy revolt. *China:* The "Opium War."—The Tai-ping rebellion.—Second war with England. *Japan:* The Perry expedition.—Opening of ports to foreigners. *South Africa:* Founding of the Boer republics.

The three decades of the period we are now to survey were a time of rapid ripening for many movements and many influences in the world which came to their full fruition in the next succeeding years. Conditions in Italy and Germany were ripening for the unification of both. Conditions in France were preparing for the eradication of Napoleonism and for the germination of a true republic. Democratic influences in Great Britain

A time of
ripening

Locomotive and telegraph

were ending class-legislation, and making ready for the great liberalizing achievements of Gladstone and the party that he formed. Events in the United States were ripening a sentiment of nationality that would bear the test of the most terrible of civil wars. And every ripening influence of the time took most of its quickening from the new spirit imparted to all activities in the world by the railway locomotive and the telegraphic wire.

Opening of the era of the railway and the telegraph

George Stephenson and the first steam railway, 1830

The introduction of the railway, with steam locomotion, is the event which outranks every other in the period, by the magnitude and the universality of its effects. We may date it as an occurrence of the 15th of September, 1830, when the first considerable line of rails was opened, between Liverpool and Manchester, and trains of cars were drawn by George Stephenson's locomotives, capable of a speed of thirty-five miles an hour. In Great Britain, the development of the new system of travel and transportation was rapid,—too rapid, in fact, becoming a “railway mania,” with the result of an overwhelming collapse in 1844-5. In no other country except the United States had equal progress been made. The first railway in America to use steam locomotion was a short line from Charleston, South Carolina, on which an engine was run in January, 1831. Later in the same year, the Baltimore and Ohio road, begun in 1830 as a tramway for horse

Railway progress in America

cars, adopted steam. From these beginnings, the extension of railways went rapidly on. By 1833, the westward line from Charleston had been stretched to a length of a hundred and thirty-seven miles. This outran railway building at the north, where even New York and Philadelphia were not connected till 1839. The year 1842 saw Albany and Buffalo linked together, by eleven distinct railroads, consolidated afterward in one; but eight more years passed before Albany was connected by rail with New York. By that time, the line from Charleston westward had passed the mountains, reaching Chattanooga; and another from Georgia had done the same. There were then about 9,000 miles of iron rail in the United States, mostly east of the Allegheny range. In the next decade a great leap of progress westward was made, increasing the total length to 30,000 miles. In 1852 two lines from Chicago to Lake Erie were opened, and the rail connection of Chicago with New York was completed in the next year. The chain of rails reached the Mississippi in 1854, and the Missouri in 1859.

1850

From 1850
to 1860

Meantime, on the European continent, the railways were spreading at a much slower rate. A line of eleven miles, opened from Paris to St. Germain in 1837, was the first in France. Prussia was a year later in beginning, and had less than 3,800 miles in 1863. Belgium gave a readier welcome to the new system, beginning the construction of railways in 1833.

Railway
beginnings
on the
European
continent

The electric telegraph had many inventors;

Beginnings
of the
electric
telegraph,
1844

but its use as a public instrument of communication between two places widely apart was begun in May, 1844, when the line built by Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, between Baltimore and Washington, was opened, and the doings of the Democratic convention at Baltimore, which nominated Mr. Polk for president, were reported to astonished congressmen at the capitol.

Events in Great Britain

The
approach
of a peace-
ful revolu-
tion

The epidemic of revolution which swept over continental Europe in 1830 reached England in no violent form, but touched the country, nevertheless, with the deepest and most lasting of all its effects. It cannot be said to have produced, but it quickened the coming, of that peaceful revolution, by parliamentary reform, which took the government of the kingdom from an aristocratic class and began the transferring of it to the democratic mass.

Increasing
importance
of the
middle
class

In a slow but sure way, the great industrial and social changes of the time had been working toward this consummation for many years. They had been raising the English middle class to the power and importance which money gives, and were gathering the increased energies of the kingdom into its hands. But, while the tendency of social changes had been to increase the importance of this powerful middle class, the political conditions had diminished its actual weight in public affairs. In parliament, it had no adequate representation. The old boroughs, which sent

members to the house of commons as they had sent them for generations before, no longer contained a respectable fraction of the "commons of England," supposed to be represented in parliament, and those who voted in the boroughs were not at all the better class of the new England of the nineteenth century. Great numbers of the boroughs were mere private estates, and the few votes polled in them were cast by tenants who elected their landlords' nominees. On the other hand, the large cities and the numerous towns of recent growth had either no representation in parliament, or they had equal representation with the "rotten boroughs" which cast two or three or half-a-dozen votes.

"Rotten
boroughs"

That the commons of England, with all the gain of substantial strength they had been making in the last half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth, endured this travesty of popular representation so long, is proof of the obstinacy of the conservatism which the French Revolution induced.

The subject of parliamentary reform had been discussed now and then since Chatham's time; but Toryism had always been able to thrust it aside and bring the discussion to naught. At last there came the day when the question would no longer be put down. The agitations of 1830, combined with a very serious depression of industry and trade, produced a state of feeling which could not be defied. King (William IV., who succeeded his brother, George IV., in 1830) and par-

The First
Reform
Bill, June 7,
1832

liament yielded to the public demand, and the First Reform Bill was passed.

Provisions
of the act

The bill extinguished 56 of the "rotten boroughs," which had less than 2,000 inhabitants, but which had elected 111 of the members of parliament. "Thirty boroughs, having less than 4,000 inhabitants, lost each a member. . . . Twenty-two large towns, including metropolitan districts, received the privilege of returning two members; and 20 more of returning one. The large county populations were also regarded in the distribution of seats,—the number of county members being increased from 94 to 159. The larger counties were divided; and the number of members adjusted with reference to the importance of the constituencies. . . . All narrow rights of election were set aside in boroughs; and a £10 household franchise was established. . . . The county constituency was enlarged by the addition of copyholders and leaseholders, for terms of years, and of tenants-at-will paying a rent of £50 a year." On similar lines, the representation of Scotland and Ireland was reformed.

May, *Constitutional History of England*, 1760-1860, I : ch. vi.

Abolition of
slavery in
the British
colonies,
Aug. 1, 1834

The reform of parliament soon brought a broader spirit into English legislation. Its most important early fruit was the abolition of slavery in the colonies of Great Britain, by an act which gave immediate freedom to all children born subsequently, and to all those who were then under six years of age; while it determined for all other slaves a period of apprenticeship, lasting five years in one class and seven years in another,



CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA

From the painting by E. T. Pavis

REFORM MEASURES IN ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES 1177

after which they were entirely free. The act appropriated £20,000,000 for the compensation of the owners of the liberated slaves.

By the same parliament, in the same year, the commercial monopoly of the East India Company was taken away and the Indian trade opened to all. Another measure of fine significance was the first of the laws which limit and regulate the employment of children in factories; while still another made the first of the appropriations of public money from the national treasury in aid of common schools.

Other
measures
of reform,
1833-1834

On the death of King William IV., in June, 1837, his niece, Victoria, came to the throne, beginning a reign of unequaled length and of unsurpassed distinction in the history of the English people. The "Victorian Age" that opened then is comparable with the Elizabethan in the glory of its literature and in the whole ripe richness of its intellectual fruits, while exceeding that age and every other in the marvels of change that were wrought upon all the material conditions of human life. The long reign of a good woman was fortunate for England in many ways. It bettered the morals of society; it smoothed the path of progress to a perfected constitutional government; it eased the friction of the many readjustments that were going on in every field of action and on every subject of thought.

Queen
Victoria,
1837-1901

The Vic-
torian age

Ward,
editor, *The
Reign of
Queen
Victoria*

After the first years of the reign, when the so-called "Chartist movement" gave rise to some alarm, public order was never disturbed to any

The
Chartist
movement,
1838-1848

serious extent. The Chartists were simply over-hasty in their demands. Their "people's charter" embodied more concessions than British conservatism could be expected to yield suddenly, in the lump. Of its six democratic claims, namely,—universal manhood suffrage, equalized districts for representation in parliament, ballot voting, annual parliaments, pay and no property qualification for members of parliament,—the most essential have been wholly or nearly satisfied since, and the remainder are not likely to wait long.

Simultaneously with the starting of the Chartist movement, another agitation, directed against the corn laws, was opened by Richard Cobden and John Bright. Sir Robert Peel attempted first to meet the demands of these reformers by the contrivance of a "sliding scale" of protective duties on breadstuffs, raising them when prices in the home market dropped, and lowering them proportionately when home prices rose. By this device the consumers were still deprived, as much as possible, of any cheapening of their bread which bountiful Nature might offer, and still paid a heavy tax to increase the gains of the owners and cultivators of land. Now that other interests besides the agricultural had a voice in parliament, and had become very strong, they denounced the entire principle of such laws. The famous "anti-corn law league," organized mainly by the exertions of Richard Cobden, conducted an agitation of the question which brought about the repeal of

The corn
laws
(See p.
1136)

Morley,
*Life of
Richard
Cobden*,
I : ch. vi-
xvi

Peel's
"sliding
scale"

Repeal of
the corn
laws, 1846

the laws in 1846, by the act of a conservative ministry and parliament, under the lead of Sir Robert Peel.

The effect of the agitation did not end there. So thorough and prolonged a discussion of the matter had enlightened the English people upon the whole question between "protection" and free trade. The manufacturers and mechanics, who had led the movement against protective duties on food-stuffs, were brought to see that they were handicapped more than protected by duties on imports in their own departments of production. So Cobden and his party continued their attacks on the theory of "protection" until every vestige of it was cleared from the English statute books.

Free-trade
legislation,
1846-1849

Among the men who rose to political prominence at this time were two, William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli, who became rival chiefs of British parties, conspicuously opposed in character and principle, and in the tendency of the strong influence that they exercised during subsequent years. Peel died in 1850, and Gladstone succeeded to his leadership of that section of the old Tory or Conservative party which recognized the growing need of many reforms in English policy and law. These entered into union with the Whigs of kindred disposition, forming a strong Liberal party, led for a few years by Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, but raised finally to great power by Gladstone, who imparted to it a broader liberality and directed it

Gladstone
and
Disraeli

Morley,
*Life of
Gladstone*

Rise of the
Liberal
party

to bold undertakings of reform. Disraeli, who started in public life with professions of radicalism, cast them off at an early day, and joined those who opposed the whole reforming movement of the times. With extraordinary artfulness he won his way to the leadership of this opposition, and was master of British conservatism for many years. While the main purpose in Gladstone's policy was to better social and political conditions at home, the chief aim of Disraeli was to expand the British dominion, enlarge the prestige and pretensions of the empire, and make it figure more conspicuously in foreign affairs. It was in his day that national ambitions of this vainglorious and unscrupulous character began to be called "jingoism" and "imperialism," and began to acquire a new hold on public feeling, in other countries as well as in England, and to become a newly mischievous influence in the world. Disraeli's experience of the political value of "jingo" excitements of thoughtless popular feeling afforded a fresh lesson to reckless politicians, and one that they were very ready to learn.

Gladstone,
the
reformer,
—Disraeli,
the im-
perialist

"Jingoism"

Ireland

Duffy,
*Birdseye
View of
Irish His-
tory*, rev.
ed. 242-275,
and *Young
Ireland*

O'Connell
and the agi-
tation for
"repeal,"
1840-1841

In 1840 and 1841 Ireland was excited nearly to the point of rebellion by an attempt to extort from England the repeal of the Act of Union, and the restoration of an independent parliament to the Irish nation. Daniel O'Connell, who led the movement with extraordinary energy and eloquence, was silenced at last by arrest and imprisonment, which practically ended his career.

On appeal to the House of Lords, the judgment against him was annulled; but age and infirmities had exhausted his powers. His place in Ireland was taken by men, organizers of a "Young Ireland party," who had armed rebellion in view. Church questions were now slipping into the background of Irish grievances, and land questions, between the peasantry of the impoverished island and their landlords, were coming to the front. Generally, in the Irish view, the Irish landlord was a foreign invader and despoiler, holding his estates by the perpetuated force of some old-time conquest, or confiscation, or oppressive seizure, and wringing a heartless tribute from his tenants, for spending commonly in luxurious life abroad. In this view the land question became more and more burning in the Irish politics of later years.

The Young
Ireland
party

Irish land
questions

The European revolutions of 1848

Another year of revolutions throughout Europe came in 1848, and the starting point of excitement was not, this time, at Paris, but, strangely enough, in the Vatican, at Rome. Pius IX. had been elected to the papal chair in 1846, and had rejoiced the hearts and raised the hopes of the patriots in misgoverned Italy by his liberal measures of reform and his promising words. The attitude of the pope gave encouragement to popular demonstrations in various Italian states during the later part of 1847; and in January, 1848, a formidable rising occurred in Sicily, fol-

Pope Pius
IX.

Italy

Thayer,
*Dawn of
 Italian
 Independence,*
 2 : bk. 4

lowed in February by another in Naples. King Ferdinand II. was compelled to change his ministers and to concede a constitution, which he did not long respect.

March,
 1848

Daniel
 Manin

Lombardy was slow this time in being kindled; but when the flame of revolution burst out it was very fierce. The Austrians were driven first from Milan, and then from city after city, until they seemed to be abandoning their Italian possessions altogether. Venice asserted its republican independence under the presidency of Daniel Manin. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, thought the time favorable for recovering Lombardy to himself, and declared war against Austria. The expulsion of the Austrians became the demand of the entire peninsula, and even the pope, the grand duke of Tuscany, and the king of Naples were forced to make a pretense of favoring the patriotic movement. But the king of Sardinia brought ruin on the whole undertaking, by sustaining a fatal defeat in battle at Custozza, in July.

Custozza,
 July 25,
 1848

France

France had been for some time well prepared for revolt, and was quick to be moved by the first whisper of it from Italy. The short-lived popularity of Louis Philippe was a thing of the past. There was widespread discontent with many things. The French people had the desire and the need of something like that grand measure of electoral reform which England secured so peacefully in 1832; but they could not reach it in the peaceful way. The aptitude and the habit of

handling and directing the great forces of public opinion in such a situation were wanting among them. There was a mixture, moreover, of social theories and dreams in their political undertaking, which heated the movement and made it more certainly explosive. The Parisian mob built barricades and rose in arms. The next day Louis Philippe signed an abdication, and a week later he was an exile in England.

Abdication
of Louis
Philippe,
Feb. 24,
1848

For the remainder of the year France was strangely ruled: first by a self-constituted provisional government, Lamartine at its head, which opened national workshops, and attempted to give employment and pay to 125,000 enrolled citizens in need; afterward by a constituent national assembly, and an executive commission, which found the national workshops a devouring monster, difficult to control and hard to destroy. Paris got rid of the shops in June, at the cost of a battle which lasted four days, and in which more than 8,000 people were wounded or slain. In November a republican constitution, framed by the assembly, was adopted, and on the 10th of December Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Louis Bonaparte, once king of Holland, and of Hortense Beauharnais, daughter of the empress Josephine, was elected president of the republic by an enormous popular vote.

The second
French re-
public

National
workshops

Senior,
*Journals in
France and
Italy, 1848-
1852,*
1 : 14-59

Louis
Napoleon
Bonaparte,
president

The revolutionary shock of 1848 was felt in Germany soon after the fall of the monarchy in France. In March there was rioting in Berlin and a collision with the troops, which alarmed the

Germany

Müller,
*Political
History of
Recent
Times*,
3d period

Germanic
national
assembly

Wasted
constitu-
tion-
making

General
effects

Hungary

Godkin,
*History of
Hungary*

king so seriously that he yielded promises to almost every demand. Similar risings in other capitals had about the same success. At Vienna, the outbreak was more violent, and drove both Metternich and the emperor from the city. In the first flush of these popular triumphs there came about a most hopeful-looking election of a Germanic national assembly, representative of all Germany, and gathered at Frankfort, on the invitation of the diet, for a revision of the constitution of the confederation. But the assembly contained more scholars than practical statesmen, and its constitutional deliberations were wasted work. A constituent assembly elected in Prussia accomplished no more, and was dispersed in the end without resistance; but a constitution of his own framing was granted by the king. The revolutionary movement in Germany left its effects, in a general loosening of the bonds of harsh government, a general broadening of political ideas, a final breaking of the Metternich influence, even in Austria; but it passed over the existing institutions of the much-divided country with a very light touch.

In Hungary the revolution, stimulated by the eloquence of Kossuth, was carried to the pitch of serious war. The Hungarians had resolved to be an independent nation, and in the struggle which ensued they approached very near the attainment of their desire; but Russia came to the help of the Hapsburgs, and the armies of the two despotisms combined were more than the Hungarians could

resist. Their revolt was abandoned in August, 1849, and Kossuth, with other leaders, escaped through Turkish territory to other lands.

The suppression of the Hungarian revolt was followed by a complete restoration of the despotism and domination of the Austrians in Italy. Charles Albert, of Sardinia, had taken courage from the struggle in Hungary and had renewed hostilities in March, 1849. But, again, he was crushingly defeated, at Novara, and resigned the crown to his son, Victor Emmanuel II. Venice, which had resisted a long siege with heroic constancy, capitulated in August of the same year. The whole of Lombardy and Venetia was bowed once more under the tyranny of the Austrians, and savage revenges were taken upon the patriots who failed to escape. Rome, whence the pope—no longer a patron of liberal politics—had fled, and where a republic had been once more set up, with Garibaldi and Mazzini in its constituent assembly, was besieged and taken, and the republic overturned, by troops sent from republican France. The Neapolitan king restored his atrocious absolutism by brutal measures, and with no need of help.

A weak attempt at rebellion in Ireland, attempted by the Young Ireland party, was suppressed by the police, with no cost of life.

A civil war in Switzerland, which occurred simultaneously with the political collisions in surrounding countries, is hardly to be classed with them. It was rather a religious conflict, between

Kossuth

Italy, again
1849Novara,
March 23,
1849

Rome

Ireland

Civil war
in Switzer-
land, 1848

the Roman Catholics and their opponents. The Catholic cantons, united in a league, called the Sonderbund, were defeated in the war; the Jesuits were expelled from Switzerland in consequence, and, in September, 1848, a new constitution for the confederacy was adopted.

Napoleon-
ism in
France

The election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the French republic was ominous of a willingness among the people to bring back a Napoleonic régime, with all the falsities that it might imply. He so construed the vote which elected him, and does not seem to have been deceived. Having surrounded himself with unprincipled adventurers, and employed three years of his presidency in preparations for the attempt, he executed a *coup d'état*, dispersing the national assembly, arresting influential republicans, filling Paris with lawless troops who terrorized the city by an unprovoked massacre, and manipulating the adoption of a new constitution which prolonged his presidency to ten years. This was but the first step. A year later he secured a *plébiscite* which made him hereditary emperor of the French. The new empire—the Second Empire in France—was more vulgar, more false, more fraudulent, more swarmingly a nest of self-seeking and dishonest adventurers, than the First had been, and with nothing of the saving genius that was in the First. It rotted for eighteen years, and then it fell, France with it.

Coup d'état
of Louis
Napoleon,
Dec. 2, 1851

Kinglake,
*The Inva-
sion of the
Crimea*, 1:
ch. xiv

Emperor,
1852

The Crimean War

A certain respectability was lent to this second Napoleonic empire by the alliance of England with it, against Russia, in 1854. The tzar, Nicholas, had determined to defy resistance in Europe to his designs against the Turks. He endeavored first to persuade England to join him in dividing the possessions of "the sick man," as he described the Ottoman, and, that proposal being declined, he opened on his own account a quarrel with the Porte. France and England joined forces in assisting the Turks, and the little kingdom of Sardinia, from motives of far-seeing policy, came into the alliance. The principal campaign of the war was fought in the Crimea, and its notable incident was the long siege of Sebastopol, which the Russians defended until September, 1855. An armistice was concluded the following January, and the terms of peace were settled at a general conference of powers in Paris the next March. The results of the war were a check to Russia, but an improvement of the condition of the sultan's Christian subjects. Moldavia and Wallachia were soon afterward united under the name of Roumania, with independence in government, but paying tribute to the Porte.

Kinglake,
The Invasion of the Crimea

"The sick man"

Siege of Sebastopol,
1854-1855

Roumania

Liberation and unification of Italy

The part taken by Sardinia in the Crimean War gave that kingdom a standing in European politics which had never been recognized before. It was a measure of sagacious policy due to the

Count
Cavour

Mazade,
*Life of
Count
Cavour*,
ch. ii-vii

Sardinia at
the con-
gress of
Paris, 1856

French in-
tervention

Magenta
and
Solferino,
June 4 and
24, 1859¹

The price
of French
help

able statesman, Count Cavour, who had become the trusted minister of Victor Emmanuel, the Sardinian king. The king and his minister were agreed in one aim—the unification of Italy under the headship of the house of Savoy. By her participation in the war with Russia, Sardinia won a position which enabled her to claim and secure admission to the congress of Paris, among the greater powers. At that conference, Count Cavour found an opportunity to direct attention to the deplorable state of affairs in Italy, under Austrian influence and rule. No action by the congress was taken; but the Italian question was raised in importance by the discussion of it, and Italy was rallied to the side of Sardinia, as the necessary head of any practicable movement toward liberation.

More than that: France was moved to sympathy with the Italian cause, and Louis Napoleon was led to believe that by taking it up he might strengthen his throne. He encouraged Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, therefore, in an attitude toward Austria which resulted in war, and when the Sardinians were attacked he went to their assistance with a powerful force. At Magenta and Solferino the Austrians were beaten decisively, and the French emperor then closed the war, making a treaty which ceded only Lombardy to Sardinia, leaving Venetia still under the oppressor, and the remainder of Italy unchanged in its state. For payment of the service he had rendered, Louis Napoleon exacted Savoy and

Nice, and Victor Emmanuel was compelled to part with the original seat of his house.

There was bitter disappointment among the Italian patriots over the meagerness of the fruit yielded by the splendid victories of Magenta and Solferino. Despite the treaty of Villafranca, they were determined to have more, and they did. Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Romagna demanded annexation to Sardinia, and, after a *plébiscite*, they were received into the kingdom and represented in its parliament. In the Two Sicilies there was an intense longing for deliverance from the brutalities of the Neapolitan Bourbons. Victor Emmanuel could not venture an attack upon the rotten kingdom, for fear of resentments in France and elsewhere; but the adventurous soldier, Garibaldi, now took on himself the task of completing the liberation of Italy. With an army of volunteers, he first swept the Neapolitans out of Sicily, and then took Naples itself, within the space of four months. The whole dominion was annexed to what now became the Kingdom of Italy, embracing the entire peninsula except Rome, garrisoned for the pope by French troops, and Venetia, still held in the clutches of Austria.

Annexations to Sardinia

Garibaldi in the Neapolitan kingdom, May-Sept., 1860

Garibaldi, *Autobiography*, 2: 3d period

Formation of the Kingdom of Italy, February, 1861

Spain

A few words will tell sufficiently the story of Spain since the successor of Joseph Bonaparte quitted the scene. Ferdinand VII. died in 1833, and his infant daughter was proclaimed queen, as Isabella II., with her mother, Christina, regent.

Carlists
and
Christinos

Isabella's title was disputed by Don Carlos, the late king's brother, and a civil war between Carlists and Christinos went on for years. When Isabella came of age she proved to be a dissolute woman, with strong proclivities toward arbitrary government.

French conquest of Algiers

Abd-el-
Kader

To obtain reparation for an insult to one of its consuls, France launched an expedition, in 1830, against the dey of Algiers, captured his city, dethroned him, and took his dominion to itself. The conquest was not final until 1846, when the last Algerine leader, Abd-el-Kader, who had fought with great obstinacy for thirteen years, surrendered and became a prisoner in France.

The United States of America.

Andrew
Jackson,
president,
1829-1837

Wilson,
*Division
and Re-
union*,
ch. i-iii

His
character

The new American democracy, developed in the United States since the westward expansion of their Union began, found congenial qualities of temper, spirit and character in General Andrew Jackson, the "hero of New Orleans," whom it raised to the presidency at the election of 1828. Jackson's education had been slight, and his general knowledge was extremely limited, with no consciousness in himself of the fact; his mind worked in narrow grooves, forming hasty judgments, infected easily with lasting prejudices, caught from hasty impressions; his disposition was pugnacious and obstinate; his self-confidence was boundless; but he was inflexibly honest-

hearted, radically patriotic in political feeling, and, in every attribute of his rugged nature, he was commandingly, impressively strong. The multitude was fascinated by the power of good intention in the man, and heedless of the dangers that menace government when such a power in it lacks wise guidance and restraint. He became, therefore, the almost omnipotent chief of his party, and his influence in the country for many years was far beyond that of any other man. His presidency of eight years was more nearly a dictatorship—made so by the masterfulness of his will—than any other before or since.

His popularity and influence

Naturally, under such a president, the heads of department in the administration lost their standing and proper function as his responsible advisers, and became little more than the highest of executive clerks. Their chief took less counsel from them than from a circle of politicians, who shared his prejudices or played upon them adroitly, and who influenced the conduct of the government without official responsibility for its acts. Notwithstanding its attempted privacy, this "kitchen cabinet," as it was styled, became a conspicuous institution of the Jackson régime. Nothing so repugnant to the principles of constitutional government could establish itself lastingly, however, and the official cabinet of the president recovered its functions when Jackson went back to private life.

Jackson's "kitchen cabinet"

A more enduring and more serious injury to good government and to political morality was

The "spoils
system"

Its intro-
duction in
the
national
govern-
ment

done by the introduction into the national public service of what came to be known as the "spoils system," which President Jackson and his party made haste to adopt, from examples set already in New York and other States. Hitherto the federal administration had been preserved with scrupulous care by its presidents from that pernicious practice, which deals with public offices and appointments as spoils of political warfare, to be taken by the victors from the vanquished after every party contest, and distributed for the rewarding of partisan zeal. With the advent of President Jackson the swarming of place-hunters to Washington, the periodical overturning of offices and clerkships throughout the country, the conversion of political parties into mercenary and predatory organizations, and the consequent debasement of all public life, were begun.

President
Jackson
and nulli-
fication,
1832-1833

Sumner,
*Andrew
Jackson as
a Public
Man.* ch. x

At one grave crisis in the period of his presidency the peculiar qualities of General Jackson proved of value beyond measure to the Union, and his resolute, unhesitating action at that time, when the State of South Carolina assumed a right to "nullify" and forbid the execution of an act of congress, gives him a high place in American history. A tariff law, passed in 1828, was offensive to the south, and provoked a revival of the "nullification" theory, as propounded in the Kentucky resolutions of 1798. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, became the leading champion of the theory; but the most famous declaration

of it was made by Senator Hayne, of the same State, in a speech to which Daniel Webster made a still more famous reply. No action on the theory was attempted, however, until November, 1832, after congress, by another tariff act, had increased the discontent in the south. Then South Carolina, by a solemn ordinance, declared both of the objectionable acts to be void of authority within her limits, and took measures to prevent their being carried into effect. The nullifiers had hoped that the president's notions of "State rights" would deter him from interference with their plans. They were soon to learn that he cared more for the Union than for its States, and that the obligation to maintain it was supreme in his belief. Warning them, and yet reasoning and pleading with them, in a masterly proclamation, which is known to have been written by Edward Livingston, then secretary of state, he made it understood that he saw nothing in their project but treason and rebellion, and that he should strike it with all the power at his command. From Andrew Jackson that warning had more impressiveness than even Washington could have given it, and the hotheads of the nullification party were sobered at once. Congress passed a "force bill" which armed the president with new powers, but enacted at the same time a "compromise tariff" act, providing for a series of reductions in the duties complained of in the southern States. South Carolina repealed her nullifying ordinance, and the doctrine of the

The Hayne
and Web-
ster debate,
Jan., 1830

The South
Carolina
ordinance,
Nov., 1832

President
Jackson's
proclama-
tion, Dec.
10, 1832

Force bill
and com-
promise
tariff,
March,
1833

Kentucky resolutions of 1798 was sunk in oblivion from that day.

Overthrow
of the
United
States
Bank, 1832

Sumner,
*Andrew
Jackson*,
ch. xi-xiv

With-
drawal
of govern-
ment
deposits,
1833

Monetary
and com-
mercial
collapse,
1837

In his own belief, no doubt, President Jackson served his country less in this case than in his overthrow of the United States Bank. The circumstances and incidents of that exciting performance cannot be related in a sketch of history like this, but they had a leading place in the thought, talk and public feeling of the time. Strongly intrenched in popular favor as the bank seemed to be, Jackson was far stronger, and when, on the question of renewing its charter, an appeal from him was made to the people, in the presidential election of 1832, he triumphed overwhelmingly. Then, merciless in his triumph, defiant of congress and regardless of opposing counsel from most of his official advisers, he forced a withdrawal of government deposits from the bank, and a distribution of the public moneys among other banking institutions, which had disturbing financial effects. The stricken bank continued business for a few years, under a charter from Pennsylvania, but went to pieces finally, with many others, in a general crash.

Among several causes of that financial and commercial collapse, which came in 1837, the president's arbitrary removal and distribution of the government deposits is to be counted as one. Circumstances had been tending for some years toward the production of such a result. Since recovering from the depression that attended and followed the war of 1812-14, the country had

been going through a period of extraordinary stimulations, which fevered its blood and excited its nerves. Immigration from the Old World and emigration from the Atlantic slope to the great interior valleys had swollen to floods. Population in the young States of the west had been multiplied by threefold in some and by eightfold in others within a decade and a half. There seemed to be boundless possibilities of expansion and increase, and of public and private enterprise to keep pace with both. The inevitable effect was to engender wild speculations, especially in land; and these were stimulated by the distribution of government deposits, which started many new banks into existence, all active in promoting the speculative spirit of the time. An inflated and depreciated paper currency and an inflated credit system floated most of the business of the country in the air.

Rapid development
of the west

Inflated
paper currency and
inflated
credit
system

A second act of mischief was performed by the government in 1836, when congress decided that \$37,000,000 of a surplus which had accumulated in the national treasury should be distributed in quarterly installments among the States. The first effect of this distribution was a new stimulus to speculation; but when the transfer of large sums from banks all over the country to State treasuries began to be made, it brought a fatal strain upon the unsound monetary system of the time. Probably nothing more was needed to produce collapse; but the president, becoming suspicious of the stability of the banks and the

Distribution of
surplus
revenues,
1836-1837

worth of their notes, added a final touch, by ordering that coin alone should be taken in payment for public lands.

Bursting
of the
bubble,
April-May,
1837

Martin
Van Buren,
president,
1837-1841

Shepard,
*Martin
Van Buren*

Van
Buren's
"independ-
ent
treasury"

After this much abused "specie circular," the bursting of the bubble of "wild-cat" banking and speculation was only a question of a little time. It was barely deferred till Jackson went out of office, in the spring of 1837. His successor, Martin Van Buren (lately vice-president), had to face the ruinous catastrophe in the first weeks of his term; and he did so with great courage and with a wise apprehension of economic causes at the bottom of what had occurred. He insisted upon radical measures of financial reform, aiming especially at a total separation of governmental from commercial finance, in order to exclude politics from the business management of banking and monetary affairs. After three years of struggle with congress he succeeded in organizing what was known as the "independent treasury" or "sub-treasury" system, keeping the funds of the government in its own treasury and in sub-treasuries, established in leading cities. His system was soon abolished by its opponents, but only for a time. Re-instituted in 1846, it has existed since, with little change. The country owes to President Van Buren, and to public men with whom he was allied, very much of the sounder financial policy that has prevailed since his day.

In the election of 1836 a new party combination, against the Jackson Democracy, was

formed. It united those known formerly as National Republicans with a body of "Anti-Masons," which had sprung up in New York within recent years and spread thence to other States. The members of this new party adopted the old English name of Whigs. Their main candidate for president, against Van Buren, was General William Henry Harrison; but Daniel Webster was nominated and supported by the Massachusetts Whigs.

Formation
of the Whig
party

Nobody in Jackson's day would have doubted that the most memorable events of his presidency were his overthrow of the "nullifiers" and of the United States Bank. But, seen in the light of after history, the period is marked much deeper by incidents which made slavery the all-absorbing subject of conflict in American politics, and opened an era of passionate sectional strife. Until this time there had been no systematic and persisting agitation of questions concerning slavery. The controversies had been occasional, —incidental to circumstances, such as those that gave rise to the Missouri compromise of 1820-21. But now the antagonisms of feeling and opinion on the subject broke, almost suddenly, into a war that forbade any peace. Slavery was attacked in one section and championed in the other by people who would listen to no terms.

Opening of
a persistent
agitation of
slavery
questions,
1831-1833

The implacable crusade of the Abolitionists against slavery was opened by William Lloyd Garrison in 1831, when he founded *The Liberator*, at Boston, and their warfare became organized by

William
Lloyd Gar-
rison and
the anti-
slavery
societies

Goldwin
Smith, *The
Moral
Crusader*

the formation of the New England and the American anti-slavery societies in 1832 and 1833. For many years the Abolitionist agitators were few in numbers and weak in direct influence, notwithstanding the intensity of their zeal and the eloquence of their writing and speech. Their willingness to rupture the Union, merely to escape from political association with the slaveholding States, was repellent to a large majority of the anti-slavery people of the country, and their appeals and denunciations did not, for that reason, cause any strong movement of feeling in the north. In reality, it was not *their* agitation, half so much as it was the counter-agitation provoked by it, that drove every other question into the background of American politics, and gave the country no rest till it decided whether slavery or freedom should be destroyed.

The
counter-
agitation
and its
effects

Pro-slavery
demands

Maddened by the denunciations of the Abolitionists, and by an always haunting dread of servile insurrection, the extreme champions of slavery began wild and fatuous efforts to suppress all expressions of opinion touching the system of human bondage except their own. They demanded of northern communities that no press or orator or meeting should be permitted to discuss slavery in a hostile tone. They demanded of congress that anti-slavery writings should be excluded from the mails, and that no petition concerning slavery should be received by the national legislature, in either house. In the face of that clause of the constitution which declares

“the right of the people. . . to petition the government,” congress yielded to this last demand, and for nine years, from 1836 until 1845, petitioners for an abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, for the suppression of slave marts at Washington, and for other measures clearly proper for consideration, as well as clearly within the jurisdiction of congress, were denied their constitutional right to be heard. It was then that John Quincy Adams, the venerable ex-president, who had accepted an election to the house of representatives, performed the great service of his life. Day after day, through all the nine years, he rose in his place to offer the forbidden petitions, which came to him by hundreds, and compelled the house and the country to listen to his denunciation of the lawless outrage of the treatment they received. At last a public opinion was roused which the violators of the constitution did not dare to defy any longer, and the insolent “gag-rule” of congress was annulled.

The course taken by the southern extremists, led by John C. Calhoun, forced men to strike at slavery in defense of the cardinal liberties of a republic, which are freedom of mind, freedom of utterance, and freedom of communication between the people and their representatives in the government. It drove hundreds into a rising movement of steadfast political resistance to the spread of slavery, where the movement of the Abolitionists gained one. At the same time, the slaveholding interest acquired a solidity and a

The right
of petition
suppressed,
1836-1845

John
Quincy
Adams in
congress

Morse,
*John
Quincy
Adams*,
ch. iii

Calhoun
the pro-
slavery
leader

Holst,
Calhoun,
ch. vi

Domina-
tion of the
slavery
question in
American
politics

strength which attracted the alliance of ambitious politicians in the north. And so it came about that the slavery question began in these years to expel all other subjects of contention from the American mind, opening a rift in the politics of the United States which widened rapidly, until it had produced the awful cleavage of civil war.

The Texas
question

Wilson,
*Division
and Re-
union*,
ch. vi

Revolt and
independ-
ence of
Texas, 1836

Proposals
of annexa-
tion

Till late in the period of conflict now opened, the slaveholding interest was always victorious, made so by its own solid unity, its own aggressive energy, and the consequent value of its alliance to politicians who looked at slavery with indifference, as many were able to do. Its grand aim was the multiplication of slave States, and the acquisition of Texas for that purpose was the first object that came into view. Since Mexico cast off the yoke of Spain, its province of Texas had been entered by large numbers of American and British settlers, who paid little respect to Mexican authority, and were generally expecting an opportunity to acquire independence, or to make themselves a part of the United States. Their expectation of independence was realized in 1836, after a brief war of rebellion and a decisive victory, at San Jacinto, where the president of Mexico, Santa Anna, became a prisoner in their hands. The republican government which they organized was recognized by President Jackson, and proposals for the annexation of the new republic to the United States were made to Jackson's successor, President Van Buren, but declined. Such annexation meant war with

Mexico and a fresh excitement of the slavery question, both of which were averted while Van Buren had the power.

In the presidential election of 1840, President Van Buren and his party were defeated by the Whigs, who elected General Harrison president and John Tyler vice-president,—the latter a Virginia Democrat, who had gone into opposition to Jackson and Van Buren, and into alliance, but not communion, with the Whigs. One month after his inauguration President Harrison died, and Tyler, who succeeded him, was soon in quarrels with the Whig leaders which broke all relations between their party and himself. Being warmly in favor of the annexation of Texas, President Tyler reopened negotiations with the Texans, and was assisted by Calhoun, who became his secretary of state. The result was a treaty of annexation, signed and sent to the senate in April, 1844, but rejected in that body by a large adverse vote.

President
Tyler,
1841-1845

The Texas question was now before the people, in the year of a presidential election, and became the dominant issue of the campaign. Clay and Van Buren were candidates for presidential nomination by their respective parties, and both of them, in public letters, opposed the annexation scheme. The Whigs accepted Clay's position and put him in nomination; the Democrats rejected Van Buren and nominated an ardent annexationist, James K. Polk. Had Clay stood firm in his original attitude there seems to be no doubt

The Texas
question in
the election
of 1844

Fatal
wavering
of Clay

that he would have carried the election, by winning the radical anti-slavery voters, who were organized as a Liberty Party. But he grew anxious for southern votes as the canvass proceeded, and wrote such wavering letters that the Liberty party put forward a candidate of its own, who drew votes enough to turn the scale in the great State of New York and give a majority of the electoral vote to Polk.

The
annexa-
tion of
Texas
accom-
plished,
1845

Both congress and the president now assumed that the people, by the verdict of the election, had commanded that Texas, with her slaves and her slave-laws, should be taken into the Union, and they made haste to execute the decree. Without waiting for the negotiation of a new treaty, they accomplished the annexation by a joint resolution of congress, which was signed by President Tyler on the 1st of March, 1845, three days before the end of his term. According to the terms of the annexing resolution, four States, besides Texas proper, might thereafter be formed in the territory claimed by the Texans, and such States should be admitted to the Union with or without slavery, as they willed, if formed on the south of the Missouri compromise line.

Mexican
territory
claimed by
Texas

Had the territory claimed by the annexed republic, and now claimed by the United States, covered no more than the actual province of Texas,—the province whose people had broken it from Mexico by a successful revolt, and beyond which no revolution had occurred,—the annexation would never have caused war. But the

Texans had manufactured a claim which stretched westward to the Rio Grande and northward to the old Spanish bounds, and the United States undertook to enforce that claim. General Zachary Taylor was sent with forces to take possession of a vast region over which the Texans had never exercised the least control. Early in 1846, Taylor's orders carried him to the Rio Grande, and a skirmish occurred there which President Polk reported to congress in a fiery message, declaring that Mexico "has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." Congress declared war; but the fragrance of the "unparalleled outrage" upon Mexico, as Senator Benton, of Missouri, had characterized the whole proceeding from its beginning, was so apparent to the country that the party responsible for it lost heavily in the congressional elections of 1846. From a majority of 60 in the house of representatives it was reduced to a minority of 8.

War with
Mexico

Schouler,
*History of
the U. S.*,
5 ch. xviii,
sect. 2

In the first period of the war General Taylor drove the Mexicans beyond the Rio Grande, defeating them at Palo Alto (May 8), Resaca de la Palma (May 9), and Buena Vista (February 23, 1847), capturing Monterey (September 24, 1846). Meantime, General Kearney, moving from Fort Leavenworth, took possession of New Mexico and went on to California. The latter Mexican province had been seized already by a naval squadron and by a small force under Colonel John C. Frémont, who was conducting explorations in the

Campaign
of General
Taylor in
Mexico,
1846-1847

Seizure of
New
Mexico
and Cali-
fornia

Campaign
of General
Scott, 1847

far western mountains and beyond. Then, in the spring of 1847, a new campaign was opened by General Winfield Scott, who landed an army at Vera Cruz, taking that city (March 27, 1847), and advanced thence to the Mexican capital, overcoming stubborn resistance at the mountain pass of Cerro Gordo (April 18). Between the 19th of August and the 13th of September, six assaults were made upon the outer defenses of the capital, at Contreras, San Antonio, Churubusco, Casa Mata, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec, and the city was then taken, after three days of desperate fighting in the streets. Nevertheless, the Mexicans would enter on no parley for peace till the following January, when negotiations were opened which resulted in a treaty, signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the 2d of February, 1848. Mexico had been beaten to such submission that she yielded the whole Texan claim, and sold to the United States, in addition, for \$15,000,000, all the remainder of New Mexico, and all that is now Utah, Nevada, and California, as well as part of Colorado and a corner of Wyoming (west of the Rocky Mountains), with so much of Arizona as lies north of the Gila River. Five years later the remainder of the present Arizona was purchased for \$10,000,000.

Treaty of
Guadalupe
Hidalgo,
Feb. 2,
1848

Territorial
cessions by
Mexico

Settlement
of the Ore-
gon bound-
ary, 1846

At the north of this vast acquisition stretched the Oregon country, concerning which the long dispute between Great Britain and the United States had been brought to a settlement in June, 1846. The joint occupation established by the

convention of 1818 was ended, and the whole area up to the 49th parallel of latitude had come into the possession of the United States. In almost its whole latitudinal extent the domain of the republic was expanded suddenly from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast.

And now came the fierce contention for and against the spreading of slavery in this great new domain. Mexico had been ridding herself of servile labor by gradual emancipation since 1829. The Texans had defied her laws and filled their province with slaves, but all other Mexican territory that came to the United States came as legally free soil, and northern feeling moved fast to the determination that its freedom should be preserved. In August, 1846, two amendments to bills pending in congress were moved by Democratic representatives from Pennsylvania, one of which (known afterward as the "Wilmot proviso") would exclude slavery from all territory acquired by treaty from Mexico, while the other would bar it from Oregon. Both amendments passed the house of representatives, and both were lost in the senate; both were renewed at the next session of congress with the same result; but the senate yielded in 1848 on the question concerning Oregon, and that Territory was organized with a proviso against the holding of slaves. Touching the Mexican acquisitions there was still a great battle to be fought.

In opposing the Wilmot proviso the champions of slavery advanced to a new constitutional

The question of slavery in the new domain

Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the U. S.*, 3 : ch. x-xiv

The "Wilmot proviso"

Slavery excluded from Oregon, 1848

New pro-
slavery
doctrine

doctrine, denying the authority of the federal government to exclude slavery from any Territory, for the reason that slaves were "property" under the laws of half the States, and that no citizen could be forbidden to go with his property to any part of a domain that belongs in common to all the States. Until the sovereignty of statehood had been conferred on a Territory, there was nowhere any power, said Calhoun and his followers, to close it against slaves. To establish this as the rule of the constitution, in contradiction of all belief and practice in the past, was henceforth the fixed purpose of the pro-slavery extremists of the south; while the opposing determination grew steadily at the north.

Power to
exclude
slavery
denied

Gold dis-
coveries in
California,
1848

Discoveries of gold in California, made in 1848, sharpened the issue, by causing an instant rush of gold-seekers to the Pacific coast, filling the country with a population that had no use or desire for slaves. At the same time new conceptions of the future importance of that Cordilleran and trans-Cordilleran section of the continent were rising in the public mind. Stories of the happy home that the Mormons had found, in the heart of the mountains beyond the Rockies, were beginning to be heard. That strange sect of the followers of Joseph Smith, gathered first in a small number at Palmyra, New York, in 1830, and, driven by persecution to successive settlements, in Ohio, in Missouri, in Illinois, always increasing, had escaped at last, in 1847, to the sheltering valley of the Great Salt Lake and

The Mor-
mons in
Utah, 1847

Their mi-
grations,
1830-1847

peopled it with 17,000 souls. They were the pioneers of a new movement of westward advance, the premonition of which was giving an added significance to the question of the "Wilmot proviso" when that question came into the presidential canvass of 1848.

The old political parties, Democratic and Whig, feared the issue, and tried to evade it by taking no declared ground. Large numbers, in consequence, seceded from both parties at the north, and attempted an anti-slavery coalition, with imperfect success. The fruit of their undertaking was a "free soil convention," held at Buffalo, which nominated Martin Van Buren for president, so much to the dissatisfaction of the anti-slavery Whigs that few of them gave him their votes. Van Buren, however, drew heavily from the Democratic vote, especially in New York, causing the defeat of the Democratic candidate, General Cass, and the election of General Zachary Taylor, the Whip nominee.

When President Taylor entered office, in the spring of 1849, California had become populous enough already to be claiming statehood, and its people were ready to put an end to the question of slavery within their own limits by voting it down. With encouragement from the president, they adopted a free State constitution and applied for admission to the Union. The pro-slavery radicals had no longer any hope of making California a slave State, but they exacted a heavy price for

"Free soil"
movement,
1848

Zachary
Taylor,
president,
1849-1850

The
California
question

Art. iv,
sect. ii,
clause 3

The com-
promise
measures
of 1850

Schurz,
*Life of
Henry Clay*,
2 : ch. xxvi

Death of
President
Taylor

allowing it to be free. They (1) demanded the establishment of slavery in all the remainder of the territory acquired from Mexico; (2) the surrender of a large part of New Mexico to Texas; (3) a new law, more efficient than the old one (of 1793), for the execution of that mandate of the constitution which declares that persons "held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, . . . shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Anti-slavery radicals, on the other hand, were demanding, (1) the Wilmot proviso applied to all present and future Territories; (2) the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; (3) the prohibition of all inter-State traffic in slaves. Between the two, the heat of passion became intense, and gave rise to such alarm that a majority in congress was induced at last to compromise the matters in dispute. Mainly inspired by Henry Clay, "the great compromiser," as he was styled, five measures were adopted, (1) establishing territorial governments in Utah and New Mexico with no reference to slavery, (2) admitting California as a free State, (3) giving Texas \$10,000,000 for her New Mexico claim, (4) substituting a new "fugitive slave law" for that of 1793, and (5) abolishing the slave trade, but not slavery, in the District of Columbia. This "Compromise of 1850" was not favored by President Taylor; but he died on the 9th of July, that year, while the five enactments were pending, and Vice-President

Millard Fillmore, who then became president, gave his signature to them all.

Millard
Fillmore,
president,
1850-1853

One measure of the compromise, the fugitive slave law, destroyed every pacifying effect which the other enactments might possibly have produced. It went needlessly beyond the requirements of the constitution, violating the principles of just law, by providing no safeguard for the claimed fugitive against perjury and fraud.

The
fugitive
slave law

"Every case that occurred under it—every surrender of a claimed fugitive—did more than the Abolitionists had ever done to convert northern people to some part, at least, of abolitionist beliefs. Senator Seward, in a senate debate on the compromise measures, had made a casual allusion to 'a higher law than the constitution,' and the phrase was caught up. To obstruct, resist, frustrate, the execution of the statute came to be looked upon by many people as a duty dictated by the 'higher law' of moral right. Legislatures were moved to enact obstructive 'personal liberty laws;' and quiet citizens were moved to riotous acts. Active undertakings to encourage and assist the escape of slaves from southern States were set on foot, and a remarkable organization of helping hands was formed, in what took the name of the 'underground railroad,' to secrete them and pass them on to the safe shelter of Canadian law. The slaveholders lost thousands of their servants for every one that the law restored to their hands.

Rhodes,
*History of
the U. S.
from 1850,*
I : 185-383

The
"higher
law" view

"Personal
liberty
laws"

The
"under-
ground
railroad"

"The story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Mrs.

Mrs.
Stowe's
story of
*Uncle
Tom's
Cabin*

Harriet Beecher Stowe, may fairly be counted among the products of the fugitive slave law, and no other book ever produced an extraordinary effect so quickly on the public mind. In book form it was published in March, 1852, and it was read everywhere in civilized countries within the next two or three years. Its picture of slavery was stamped ineffaceably on the thought of the whole world, and the institution was arraigned upon it, for a more impressive judgment than Christendom had ever pronounced before. That the picture was not a true one of the general and common circumstances of southern slavery, but that the incidents put together in the story were all possible, has been proved beyond doubt."

Larned,
*History of
the U. S.,*
455-6

Presiden-
tial election
of 1852

Undoubtedly, in 1852, when another presidential election came round, there were deeper and stronger feelings against slavery than there had been four years before; but they lacked the means of organization to make themselves felt. The "free soil" experiment of 1848 had been discouraging and was but feebly renewed. Both of the old parties went into the canvass pledged to uphold the measures of the compromise, and the only vigor in the contest was where pro-slavery feeling stirred it up. That was done with more favor to the Democratic party than to the Whig, and Franklin Pierce, the Democratic candidate, was made president by a large vote. He was a northern man, fully in accord with the southern section of his party, and fully prepared to administer the government according to pro-slavery

Franklin
Pierce,
president,
1853-1857

views. The ease with which he had been elected seemed to indicate an unlimited submission to those views in the north; and seemed also to mark very plainly the successful course for political ambition to take. This may, perhaps, account for the audacity with which the compact of the Missouri Compromise, sanctioned and trusted for a generation, was broken and brushed aside in the second year of President Pierce's term. To Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois and chairman of the senate committee on Territories, came a discovery that the compromise legislation of 1850, in its dealing with New Mexico, had committed the government to a new principle of policy in the matter, namely, "that all questions pertaining to slavery in the Territories and the new States to be formed therefrom are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein." Calhoun and his radical disciples, who acknowledged no right anywhere to decide those questions for any region before its people had become endowed with the sovereignty of a State, derided this new doctrine of "popular sovereignty," as Douglas named it,— "squatter sovereignty," as Calhoun branded it with eloquent scorn. Nevertheless, the Douglas proposition was accepted by the slaveholding interest, as a means of carrying slavery into the rich regions beyond Missouri from which it had been barred. All that remained unorganized of the Louisiana Purchase, including the present States of Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas, with parts of

Senator
Stephen A.
Douglas

Brown,
Stephen A.
Douglas

His doc-
trine of
"popular
sover-
eignty"

The
Kansas-
Nebraska
bill, repeal-
ing the
Missouri
Compro-
mise, 1854

Nicolay
and Hay,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
I : ch. xix

Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, was divided between two Territories, named Kansas and Nebraska, by an organizing act which repealed the legislation of 1820, and provided that States formed hereafter from these Territories should be "received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe."

Rise of the
Republican
party

The
American
or Know
Nothing
party

The strife
for Kansas,
1855-1856

This Kansas-Nebraska bill was revolutionary in its effect upon the political parties of the day. Legions of men were driven by it from the Democratic party, while northern and southern Whigs parted company so entirely that their national organization came to an end. Out of both secessions, by a spontaneous popular movement which the old party leaders could only fall in with, arose the new Republican party, pledged to resist the further spread of slavery, but not to interfere with its existing establishment in any State. Another party movement, styled the American or "Know Nothing," started in 1852, originally in the form of a secret organization of native Americans against foreign-born citizens, maintained some rivalry with that of the Republicans until 1856, when it disappeared. Only one political feeling could be kept alive, in that period of excitements caused by a fierce struggle in Kansas, where the first decision, for or against slavery, by choice of the settlers, was about to be made. For nearly two years Kansas was the scene of what came to be nothing less than a state of civil war. There were barbarities and atrocities on both sides of the desperate contest; but

three governors of the Territory, sent to it with pro-slavery sympathies, bore testimony to the fact that a large majority of the actual settlers in the country were striving against armed bodies of invaders from the neighboring slave States, and were overborne at the Territorial elections by violence and fraud.

More passion than the Kansas struggle had wakened was stirred up in May, 1856, by an almost fatal assault on Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, by one of the congressmen from South Carolina, in retaliation for a violent speech. Yet, with all that was working to stimulate the anti-slavery feeling of the north, it failed to command success in the presidential election of that year. Colonel John C. Frémont, the chosen candidate of the Republicans, received more than a hundred thousand northern votes above those of James Buchanan, the Democratic nominee; but he had almost no vote in the south. Buchanan carried only five free States, but those, with all the slave States except Maryland, gave him a majority of the electoral votes. The vote of Maryland was given to Millard Fillmore, nominated by the American party and by a remnant of Whigs.

The opening of the new administration was signalized by a crowning triumph for what could be described with strict accuracy as "the slave power." Two days after President Buchanan's inauguration the Supreme Court of the United States, pronouncing a judgment in the case of a slave named Dred Scott, was afforded an oppor-

Assault on
Senator
Sumner,
1856

Presiden-
tial election
of 1856

James
Buchanan,
president,
1857-1861

Rhodes,
*History of
the U. S.
from 1850,*
2-3 : ch. ix-
xiv

The Dred
Scott deci-
sion, March
6, 1857

(See pages
1150-51)

tunity to decide that "no word can be found in the constitution which gives greater power over slave property than property of any other description;" for which reason the compromise enactment of 1820 "is not warranted by the constitution and is therefor void." So Calhoun's doctrine of the constitutional status of slave property was affirmed beyond appeal, and slaves could be carried anywhere within the Territories of the United States.

The
Lecompton
constitu-
tion forced
on Kansas

And now it seemed possible to the administration at Washington to complete the fettering of Kansas with the constitution of a slave State. The constitution (known as the Lecompton constitution) was prepared by a small minority of the people of the Territory; but the majority had the promise of an honest governor, Robert J. Walker, authorized by President Buchanan to make it, that they should be given a fair opportunity to reject or adopt it as they saw fit. The promise was flagrantly broken, by a cheating contrivance which the president countenanced and the governor denounced. Governor Walker, who resigned his office in disgust, was joined in his denunciations by Senator Douglas, author of the act under which the Kansas struggle had occurred. The Democratic party was broken by a great revolt, in which Douglas took the lead. Congress defeated the attempted fraud, sending the "Lecompton constitution," so-called, back to the Kansas people, who rejected it by a vote of about seven to one.

Political
revolt led
by Senator
Douglas

Douglas was now at odds with the southern leaders and masters of his party, but sustained by a large majority of the Democrats of the north. His senatorial term was about to expire, and the question of his reelection, to be decided in the election of the legislature of Illinois, excited the lively interest of the whole country in 1858. It was then that Abraham Lincoln, little known hitherto outside of his own State, was revealed to the nation at large. Chosen by the Republicans to contest the senatorial election with Douglas, he met the latter in a series of debates, which disclosed the remarkable powers of his mind. Douglas won the election, but Lincoln had gained an eminence among the leaders of his party which made him their candidate for president two years later, and opened his advance to an immortality of fame.

Senatorial
election in
Illinois

Douglas
and
Lincoln
debate,
1858

Nicolay
and Hay,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
ch. viii-ix

Before the occurrence of the presidential election of 1860 sectional hostilities in the Union were inflamed afresh by the mad attempt of John Brown, at Harper's Ferry (October 16, 1859), to enter Virginia with a small armed force and incite an insurrection of slaves. Brown was easily overcome, most of his followers were slain, and he himself was captured, tried for treason and murder, condemned, and hanged; but his undertaking had widened the breach between north and south. A fiery disunionism became rampant in the slaveholding States, and its leading spirits began to prepare, not only for revolt in the event of the election of a Republican president, but for

John
Brown's
invasion of
Virginia,
1859

Rhodes,
*History of
the U. S.
from 1850*,
2 : 384-416

Disunion-
ism in the
south

Disruption
of the
Democratic
party

Election of
Abraham
Lincoln,
president,
Nov., 1860

a breaking of the political forces opposed to that election, in order to make it sure. Plainly by their intention and contrivance, the Democratic party was split in twain, and brought two candidates into the field,—Stephen A. Douglas, supported mainly by the Democracy of the north, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, sustained chiefly in the south. Lingered adherents of the Whig and American parties named John Bell, of Tennessee, for president; and against these three opponents stood Abraham Lincoln, representing that mass of the people who had resolved that the further spreading and rooting of slavery should be stopped. By half a million votes over Douglas, by a million over Breckenridge, by a million and a quarter over Bell, Lincoln was chosen president, carrying every free State, save one, and even that (New Jersey), in part.

British America

(See p.
1155)

Greswell,
*History of
the Dominion
of
Canada*,
ch. xvi

Rebellions
in Upper
and Lower
Canada,
1837-1838

Different as the causes of disaffection were in the two provinces of Canada, they gave encouragement to each other, and came to a head of positive rebellion at about the same time. The outbreak in Lower Canada found its leader in Louis J. Papineau, a man of excellent character, gifted with much eloquence, but wanting evidently in judgment, and not fitted for success in the revolutionary part that he played.ⁱ In Upper Canada the most active promoter of the rising that occurred was William Lyon Mackenzie, who

had conducted a journal in opposition to the government and the "family compact" for some years. In neither province was any efficiency displayed in the conduct of the revolutionary movement, and not much energy on the part of the authorities was required for scattering its ill-planned combinations and bringing it to an end. Both Papineau and Mackenzie escaped to the United States, where the latter found sympathizers, who joined him in seizing a small island in the Niagara River, from which to maintain, for some time, a futile continuation of what was known as the Patriot War. The neglect of the American government to prevent violations of its neutrality in this proceeding, and an audacious raid made from Canada to the American shore, for the purpose of destroying a small steamer which the rebels used, led to quite serious complications between Great Britain and the United States. Large numbers of the insurgents in both provinces were captured, and not a few were hanged, while others were transported to the convict settlement in Tasmania, known then as Van Dieman's Land. More passion than justice went into these punishments, and, after the passion cooled, even Papineau and Mackenzie were allowed to return, even to seats in the Canadian assembly.

The Patriot
War

Burning of
the
Caroline

The rebellions were not failures, for they woke the British government to a recognition of the reality of the grievances out of which they sprang. An able statesman, Lord Durham, was sent out as

Reunion of
the
Canadas,
1840

governor and high commissioner, to investigate the situation and plan needed reforms. On his report, by an imperial act passed in 1840, the two provinces were reunited in one, with equal representation in a legislature composed of two bodies, —a lower house elected by the people and an upper house appointed by the crown. This was the organization of government in Canada till 1867. There and in the maritime provinces a period of much prosperity ensued, and the British-American population increased from a million and a half in 1840 to three millions and a quarter in 1861.

Prosperity

Australia and New Zealand

Western
Australia

South
Australia

A Swan River convict settlement, founded in 1826, in the southwestern corner of Australia, was proclaimed a colony three years later, becoming the nucleus of the present colony of Western Australia. The colonizing of South Australia, on the western side of New South Wales, was undertaken in 1836 by an association, formed in compliance with an act of the British parliament passed two years before. The colony had a struggle for existence till the great copper and gold discoveries of 1845 and 1851 were made.

Melbourne,
1836

About 1836 the fine country surrounding the great bay called Port Philip began to receive settlers, and a town-site selected on the bay was named Melbourne, in honor of the English premier of that time. Until 1851 the Port Philip colony was a dependency of New South Wales.

By that time it had grown to a population of 76,000, had acquired the wealth of millions of sheep, and was just beginning to discover that its mountains held rich stores of gold. With authority from the British parliament, it was parted then from the parent colony, received the queen's name, Victoria, and entered upon a separate colonial career. The discoveries of gold brought immigration in a flood. In 1859, another portion of New South Wales, called the Moreton Bay district, was taken to form another separate colony, bearing the name of Queensland, and having Brisbane for its capital; there, too, gold was found at a later day, and the colony has much other mineral wealth.

Discovery
of gold,
1851

Victoria,
1851

Queens-
land, 1859

In 1852, each of the Australian colonies was authorized and invited by the imperial government to frame a constitution for itself.

The colonial history of New Zealand begins in 1840, when the British government appointed a consul, Captain Hobson, for official supervision of a settlement on the northern island, which a land company had been formed in England to undertake. Captain Hobson was successful in arranging a treaty with the natives—the Maoris—by which they acknowledged the sovereignty of the British queen, and were guaranteed, in return, the possession of their lands, except as they might be willing to sell the same, the crown to have a right of preëmption over all lands thus offered for sale. Notwithstanding this apparently fair and perfect settlement of the land question at the beginning,

First colo-
nization of
New
Zealand,
1840

Treaty
with the
Maoris

Conflicts

Colonial
constitu-
tion, 1852The "king
move-
ment" and
Maori war

conflicts between the settlers and the Maoris began early and continued for many years, till the native race—one of remarkably strong and fine qualities—had exhausted its strength. The first settlement, seated at Wellington, was chartered as a colony in 1840, with Captain Hobson for governor. Others followed, on both islands, and assumed, in the course of a dozen years, enough importance to claim and receive a colonial constitution, which gave representation to the inhabitants in one branch of a legislature, composed in the other branch of a legislative council appointed by the crown. By this time the rapid spread and growing strength of the English had roused the natives, and started a movement among them which aimed at some national organization of their tribes, under a king, for the purpose of stopping all further sale of lands to the whites, and all further extension of roads. This "king movement," as it was called, led to a long and destructive Maori war.

India and Afghanistan

Suspicion
of Russian
designs

Each extension of the dominions of the East India Company involved it in fresh difficulties with new neighbors, and tempted it to new conquests. With its northward advance, moreover, came suspicions of a distant hostile influence from St. Petersburg, working in Persia and Afghanistan, and looking to future Russian movements from the Caspian Sea. Such suspicions were at the bottom of an appalling disaster to the British

arms, brought about in 1839 by the folly of the governor-general of India, Lord Auckland, who sent an incapable general, with an inadequate army, into Afghanistan, to interfere in a dispute between two rivals for the throne. Surprised and besieged helplessly in Cabul, the unfortunate army, accompanied by many women and children, obtained a treacherous permission to retreat; but in one of the mountain passes, where almost no resistance could be made, it was waylaid and overwhelmed. One man only, of more than 15,000, escaped by chance to tell the horrible tale. Of course there was a vigorous and prompt chastisement of the Afghans, but what could that repair?

Tragedy of
the first
Afghan
war, 1839

McCarthy,
*History of
Our Own
Times*,
I : ch. xi

The Afghan war led to the subjugation of the amirs of Scinde, who had taken advantage of the disturbance to break some engagements of a treaty lately signed. This was followed by a war of four years with the formidable Sikhs of the Punjab,—a religious sect forming a nation,—ending in the subjection of that people to British rule. In 1852 a second Burmese war resulted in the acquisition of Pegu. In 1856 the important province of Oudh, misgoverned hitherto by a native king, under British protection, was annexed to the company's dominions by a simple mandate of the governor-general, and the king deposed.

Conquest
of Scinde,
1843

Subjuga-
tion of the
Sikhs and
the Punjab,
1845-1849

Annexa-
tion of
Oudh, 1856

These conquests and annexations, especially that of Oudh, were productive of ill-feeling among the natives; who had no relish, moreover, for the

Ill-feeling
among
natives

railroads, the telegraphs, and other European innovations then beginning to work startling changes among them, in all the conditions of life. A suspicious and resentful state of mind became prevalent, especially among the native troops—the sepoys—which some cause of excitement might easily raise to a dangerous pitch. The cause of excitement was supplied in the spring of 1857, by a rumor among the sepoys that their cartridges were greased with the fat of pigs, which both Hindus and Mohammedans abhor as unclean. An outbreak of mutiny was the consequence, beginning on the 9th of May at the station of Meerut, about forty miles northeast of Delhi, and spreading thence among the native troops, but never becoming a rebellion of the people at large.

The sepoy
mutiny,
1857-1858

Hunter,
*Brief His-
tory of the
Indian
People*,
ch. xv

Some of the officers first surprised by the outbreak dealt weakly with it, and the mutineers were allowed to get possession of Delhi and Cawnpore, and to commit horrible massacres, there and in other places; but instantly, almost, there sprang to the front of the English a wonderful body of heroic leaders, such as the Lawrences, John and Henry, John Nicholson, Henry Havelock, Colin Campbell, Governor-General Lord Canning, and many more, who showed what it is in the Anglo-Saxon race that gives it rule. Besieged Lucknow was relieved on the 25th of August, by Havelock, who fought his way to the despairing city, victor in twelve battles on the march, and held it till Sir Colin Campbell could

Massacres
at Delhi
and
Cawnpore

Relief of
Lucknow

come with forces strong enough to protect the whole body of the British residents in a necessary retreat. In September, Delhi was retaken by storm, at the cost of many lives, including that of the brave General Nicholson, who led the first column in the attack. After this decisive blow the suppression of the revolt was but a question of months, and the whole country was restored to order in the summer of 1858. The government of British India was then taken from the company that had ruled it so long and transferred entirely to the crown.

Storming
of Delhi

Smith, *Life
of Lord
Lawrence*,
2 : ch. v

End of the
East India
Company's
rule

China

China had its first experience of war with a European power in 1840, and its first rude wakening to the fact that it must trade with the "barbarians," as it deemed them, on the Atlantic side of the world, whether willing or not. The war was a shameful one to England, after every just allowance is made for provocations that she received from the overbearing insolence of the Chinese officials with whom her representatives had to deal. It had its origin in attempts on the part of the Chinese government to suppress the use of opium, by which great masses of people in the empire were being dreadfully debased. The main production of the drug was in India, whence it was smuggled into China through the channels of foreign trade at Canton, which the government at Peking had been tolerating for a long time past, in an always contemptuous way. Its officials at Canton were accessories to the smuggling, till

The Opium
War,
1840-1842

McCarthy,
*History of
Our Own
Times*,
1 : ch. viii

Lin 1839, when the port came under the authority of one named Lin, who would not shut his eyes, as his predecessors had done. He did his duty, no doubt, with inflexible determination to put an end to the unlawful importation of an abominable drug; but he did it so insultingly and violently that much excuse was afforded for the hostilities that ensued. The war, in fact, was more shameful in the ending than in the beginning; for the Chinese were forced at last to obtain peace by consenting to pay six millions of dollars for opium destroyed, in addition to a large indemnity for British expenditures in the war. Moreover, they were compelled to open five ports, namely, Canton, Amoy, Fuchau, Ningpo, and Shanghai—known afterward as the “treaty ports”—to British residence and trade, besides ceding to Great Britain the island of Hong Kong, near the mouth of the Canton River. The war, branded as “the Opium War,” was denounced with great bitterness in England by such righteous-minded statesmen as Cobden and Bright.

Opening of the “treaty ports,” 1842

Cession of Hong Kong

Second war with England, 1856-1860

Since the day that China was forced, by the “Opium War,” to open relations with the western powers, she has suffered much bullying, many shameful extortions, and some barbarous blows at their hands. One of the worst of the assaults upon her was made, again by Great Britain, in 1856, and for no decently justifiable cause. Her officials at Canton had arrested twelve men—their own countrymen—charged with piracy, and taken them from a small vessel called a “lorcha,”

which they claimed to be a Chinese piratical craft. Their claim is said to have been proved true in the end; but the owners of the lorcha had obtained by false pretenses the temporary possession of a British flag, and the Chinese police were held to have violated the shelter of the flag. A British consul, backed by a British minister, demanded an apology, as well as the surrender of the men. The men were given up, but the apology was refused; whereupon Canton was bombarded by a British fleet, and war begun.

McCarthy,
*History of
Our Own
Times*,
3 : ch. xxx
and xlii

Canton
bombarded

The better feeling of England was outraged by these proceedings; but, when parliament pronounced censure on them, Palmerston, the premier of the day, dissolved it, appealing to the country, and was returned to power by an overwhelming vote. So the war went on, and France joined in it, having some claims of indemnity to enforce. Canton was taken, and China was humbled to the signing of a treaty which promised payment of the expenses of the war. But this did not end the matter. Envoys sent to Peking to exchange ratifications were hindered in their journey, and attempted to force their way, but without success. Then England and France, in a fresh burst of rage, sent forces which broke through all resistance, made their way to Peking and entered its gates. On their march, some members of the staff of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, the envoys who accompanied and directed the expedition, were captured treacherously and

Feeling in
England

Treaty of
Tien-tsin,
June, 1858

1860

Burning of
the winter
palace at
Peking

fouly treated by the Chinese. In punishment or retaliation it was ordered by the envoys that the great and splendid winter palace at Peking, filled with treasures of Chinese art, should be burned; and this was done,—a deed worthy of Alaric the Goth. But the treaty now wrung from the emperor provided that Europeans should no longer be styled “barbarians” in the documents of his government, and the envoys, with that certificate of their civilization, came home well content.

The
Tai-ping
rebellion,
1850-1864

This was not the only trouble of the Chinese government in these years. It was struggling with the most formidable rebellion that the Manchu dynasty had known. One Hung Siu-tseuen, who seems to have had a smattering of Christian teaching from a missionary,—enough to give him a pretense of being religiously inspired,—set the revolt on foot in 1850, and was soon the leader of a barbaric horde which carried terror and destruction wherever it went. The city of Nanking was taken in 1853, and became the capital of this Tai-ping rebellion, as foreigners understood it to be named. The Chinese soldiery, under Chinese commanders, could make no headway against it; but a force raised at Shanghai, and led first by an American named Ward, came finally under the command of an English officer, Colonel Charles George Gordon (called “Chinese Gordon” in after years), who made himself famous by his success. He finished the suppression of the rebellion in 1864.

“Chinese
Gordon”

Japan

The long isolation of Japan was ended in 1854, as the result of a friendly overture from the government of the United States, conveyed to the court at Yedo by a naval squadron, Commodore Perry in command. The recent extension of American territory to the Pacific, the rapid growth of communities on its coast that were eager for Asiatic trade, and the extent of American whale hunting in the seas near Japan, were incentives to the undertaking. Its special object was to obtain admission to Japanese ports, for supplies and for shelter, as well as for trade. Commodore Perry entered the Bay of Yedo, with an imposing squadron, in July, 1853, made known his desire to present a letter to the emperor from the president of the United States, and declined to be ordered away by local officials, or to confer personally with other officials than such as would represent the sovereign of Japan. By judicious firmness he carried his point. The president's letter, in a rich casket of gold, was received ceremoniously by commissioners whom the shogun appointed, and the commodore departed for China, announcing that he would return some months later for the expected reply. His return was in the following February, and some months of negotiation then resulted in the signing of a treaty which broke the seal of seclusion that Japan had remained under for two centuries and a half. It declared friendship between the two countries; opened two ports to American ships,

The Perry expedition from the United States, 1853-1854

Griffis, *Matthew Calbraith Perry*, ch. xxvii-xxxiii

Commodore Perry at Yedo

The treaty secured, 1854

for shelter from stress of weather, for procuring supplies, for certain privileges of trade, subject to local regulations, and for resident American consuls. England made haste to obtain a similar treaty, the same year, and other nations followed, so that nearly all commercial countries were soon in possession of keys to the long-locked gates of Japan. A broader and more definite commercial treaty with the United States was secured, though with difficulty, in 1858, by Mr. Townsend Harris, who went as consul-general to Japan in 1856, and acquired great influence there.

Consul-General
Harris

Opposition
in the
empire

The
shogunate
threatened

But this revolution in the policy of Japan was not accomplished without a bitter struggle in the empire between a party who favored it and a party opposed. The latter party, hostile to foreigners and foreign intercourse, disputed the authority of the shogun, by whom the treaties had been conceded, and began a vigorous assertion of the sovereignty of the mikado, aiming at the restoration of that secluded monarch to a seat of actual power. For some years, the few foreign visitors and residents who ventured into the empire were endangered by the prevalent feeling, and several murders and outrages occurred. It seemed that the continuance of Japan in the new line of intercourse with America and Europe must depend upon the continued rule of the shoguns, and that the shogunate was doomed to a speedy fall. Yet the shogunate fell, and the relations of Japan with the western world, as we shall see, became closer than before.

Africa

The emancipation of slaves, decreed by parliament for the whole British empire in 1833, was resented bitterly by the Dutch in Cape Colony, and so increased their discontent with British rule that a large body of them migrated or "trekked," as their own language expressed it, to a region in the South African wilderness which they supposed to be outside the bounds of British law. It was a district on the eastern coast which Vasco da Gama had called Natal, and they kept the name. There they undertook to found a republic of their own; but the English claim stretched over their new land, and they "trekked" again, to the neighboring district known afterward as the Orange Free State. That, too, Great Britain claimed rights in, and once more a considerable party of these obstinate Dutch farmers (called "boers" in their own language) moved farther into the wilderness, across the Vaal River, and took possession of the territory in which the Transvaal or South African Republic grew up. To that retreat they were not pursued; and the claims of the British government were so much relaxed that, in 1854, it conceded independence to the Orange Free State.

Meantime, the active exploration of Central and South Africa was begun. The first missionary journey of Dr. Livingstone was made in 1849. In 1851 he discovered the Zambesi; between 1853 and 1856 he crossed the continent from the Zambesi to the western coast, and then returned,

The trek-
king of
Cape
Colony
Dutch,
1833

To Natal,
1833

To Orange
Free State,
1843

To the
Transvaal,
1848

Explora-
tions of Dr.
Living-
stone,
1849-1859

to explore the river to its mouth, discovering the Victoria Falls on the way. Burton and Speke explored the Somali country in 1854, and found Lake Tanganyika in 1857. Speke's discovery of Lake Victoria Nyanza was made in 1858. Other missionaries, explorers and hunters were searching the depths of the dark continent in almost every part.

CHAPTER XXII

FROM THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO BISMARCK'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

(1860 to 1871)

The United States of America: Secession and confederation of slave-holding States.—Opening of civil war.—Blockade of Confederate ports.—Battle of Bull Run.—The "Monitor" and the "Merrimac."—Grant's first successes.—McClellan's peninsular campaign.—Rising fame of the Confederate generals Lee and Jackson.—Farragut's capture of New Orleans.—Lee's first invasion of Maryland.—President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation.—Dark period of national reverses.—Political opposition in the north.—Outfit of Confederate cruisers in England.—Lee's second movement northward.—Gettysburg.—Vicksburg.—Grant's Chattanooga campaign.—Lincoln's amnesty and plan of reconstruction.—Grant's campaign against Richmond.—Reëlection of Lincoln.—Sherman's march to the sea.—Crumbling and fall of the Confederacy.—End of the war.—Murder of President Lincoln.—Presidency of Andrew Johnson.—His rupture with congress.—Congressional measures of reconstruction and their results.—Period of demoralizations.—Presidency of General Grant.—Settlement of "Alabama" claims. *Events in Europe:* Unification of Italy.—Austro-Prussian and Franco-German wars.—Unification of Germany in a federal empire.—Federation of Austria-Hungary.—Birth of the third French republic.—Disraeli and Gladstone ministries in Great Britain.—Irish Fenianism.—Revolution in Spain.—Emancipation in Russia.—Russians in Central Asia. *British America:* Confederation of the Dominion of Canada. *Mexico:* French conquest.—Maximilian's empire and its fall. *Egypt:* Ismail Pasha, khedive.—The Suez canal.—*Japan:* Fall of the shogunate.—End of feudalism and the daimiates.

Civil War and Reconstruction in the United States

In no other part of the world, at the opening of this period, were the passing events of such moment as those then occurring in the United States. The election of President Lincoln was followed by rebellious action in South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. Within three months, those seven States had adopted ordinances professing to dissolve their relations with other States in the

Secession of
seven slave-
holding
States

Organiza-
tion of the
Confeder-
ate States
of America

Attitude of
President
Buchanan

union of 1788, "under the compact entitled the constitution of the United States;" had leagued themselves as the Confederate States of America; had organized a separate general government, with Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, at its head; had seized most of the forts, arsenals, arms, and other property of the federal government, and had silenced its authority within their bounds. For two months their proceedings were disturbed by no interference from Washington. President Buchanan, in a message to congress, lamented the course taken by the seceding States, questioned their right to leave the Union, but decided that he had no constitutional authority to resist their acts. He and his administration were controlled by leaders of the secession movement, until the exigencies of their undertaking called them home. Then, for the few remaining weeks of President Buchanan's term, loyal influences prevailed, and the submissive attitude of the government was changed.

Abraham
Lincoln,
president,
1861-1865

Nicolay
and Hay,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
vol. 2,
and after

Rhodes,
*History of
the U. S.
from 1850*,
vols. 3-4

But on that 4th day of March, 1861, when Abraham Lincoln brought the strength of his wisdom, his courage, his patience, his faith, to replace the feebleness of his predecessor, the situation was one to appall the stoutest heart. In all history no man ever faced a more formidable task; and no human performance has ever surpassed his accomplishment of that task. From the first hour of his responsibility, his words and his measures were all masterly, in prudent and skillful direction to the end that no rational

or plausible ground should be left for rebellion to uphold itself upon. Neither yielding any jot of the authority confided to his office, nor challenging resistance to it, he brought affairs to a position in which the undertaking of secession could not be carried forward without an aggressive act of war. The result was the bombardment of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, which a faithful officer of the United States had refused to give up to the authorities of South Carolina or to those of the rebelliously organized Confederate States. By that reckless act of violence the secessionists ruined their cause from the beginning. It roused a tempest of feeling in the north, sweeping away all party differences for the time, uniting the free States in support of the government, and ranging with them a controlling majority in the border slave States.

Bombard-
ment of
Fort
Sumter,
April
12-13, 1861

Effect in
the north

The attack on Fort Sumter was a decisive appeal to arms, and was met at once by proclamations from the president, calling for 75,000 of the militia of the States, to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States, "too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings," and declaring a blockade of the ports of the seceded States. The call for militia was followed a fortnight after by another proclamation which directed the enlistment of a force of volunteers. These measures changed the attitude of large numbers of southern people, who had been in opposition to the movement of disunion, but believed in secession as a constitu-

Effect in
the south

Secession of
four more
states,
April-
May, 1861

McClellan
in West
Virginia,
May-July,
1861

tional "State right," and who objected less to the breaking of the Union than to the "coercing of a sovereign State." Forced now to choose between arming for the preservation of the Union and arming for its destruction, such people went over to the secessionists in a body, and joined in adding Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee to the rebellious league. The same disposition of mind was strong enough in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, to struggle hard against the Union sentiment in those States; but the latter, nourished and encouraged by the wise patience of President Lincoln, prevailed in the end. In the mountain regions of West Virginia and East Tennessee, where slaveholding was never extensive, the Unionists outnumbered the secessionists, but were overborne by disunion majorities in other parts of those States. The first important operations of war were undertaken in West Virginia, by General George B. McClellan, with results which enabled the Unionists to organize what assumed to be the lawful government of Virginia, leading finally to the formation of a separate State.

While this was being done, and while the secessionists in Missouri, who controlled its State government at the outset, were being overthrown by military force, large bodies of troops were assembled by both belligerents, mainly on and near the Potomac, to threaten the national capital on one side and defend it on the other. By the middle of July, the Union forces near

Washington numbered 50,000, or more, and the country clamored for a movement "on to Richmond," not at all understanding how much more of discipline and organization this raw army needed to make it fit for so serious a campaign. The cry was yielded to, however, and General Irwin McDowell, with some 30,000 men, moved forward, encountering the Confederates, under Generals Beauregard and Joseph Johnston, at the little stream called Bull Run, on the 21st of July. McDowell's plans for the movement were frustrated by the failure of the general who commanded the remaining 20,000 men to coöperate as expected, and the result was a defeat, which inexperience in the ranks converted into a rout.

"On to
Richmond"
cry

Battle of
Bull Run,
July 21,
1861

Paris, *His-
tory of the
Civil War*,
I : 225-256

The lesson taught by this disaster was taken to heart so profoundly by the next commander of the Union Army of the Potomac, General McClellan, that he kept it inactive for eight months, while he trained its officers and drilled their men. Admirable as a military organizer, he lacked the needed confidence for campaigning, and never found himself quite in readiness for the field.

McClellan
and the
Army of the
Potomac,
Aug., 1861-
April, 1862

Meantime, the navy was doing the most important work of the war, blockading the southern ports and coöperating with military expeditions which captured and held important footings on the southern coast, at Hatteras Inlet, Port Royal, Roanoke Island and Newberne. By nearly stopping the exportation of their cotton and tobacco, and the importation of arms, munitions of war, railroad materials, and manufactures in

Blockade
of southern
ports

general, which they had little ability to produce for themselves, the Confederates were crippled beyond measure by the blockade.

The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*,
March 8-9,
1862

In March, 1862, naval warfare was revolutionized in a startling way, by the first battle ever fought between ironclad ships. By covering an old wooden steam frigate, the *Merrimac*, with railway iron, the Confederates, at Norfolk, had constructed a clumsy craft, which they sent out against the blockading fleet in Hampton Roads. Her first attack was fatal to two wooden sailing vessels, which she sunk with ease; but when the monster returned the next morning, to finish her work, she found a new antagonist on the scene. This was the famous *Monitor*, the first of turreted ironclad battle ships, constructed on plans devised by John Ericsson, a Swedish-American engineer, and brought to Hampton Roads at exactly the opportune hour. Neither *Monitor* nor *Merrimac* was much injured in the encounter that followed, but the latter drew back from her small enemy and never did mischief again.

Ericsson

Grant and
Foote
break the
Confeder-
ate line,
Feb. 6-16,
1862

In the west as in the east, on the river lines as on the coast lines of the Confederacy, it was concerted action of naval and military forces that won the first successes of vital importance to the Union cause; and these were not accomplished till late in the winter and early in the spring of 1862. General Grant, with an army, and Commodore Foote, with a fleet of small gunboats, moving up the Tennessee and the Cumberland, in February, captured Forts Henry and Donelson,

with a large garrison in the latter, and so broke the Confederate line of defense. This opened the whole of western Tennessee to a general advance, and to a restoration of federal authority in that part of the State. In April the ground won was secured by a bloody battle, fought for two days at Pittsburg Landing, near Shiloh, close to the southern boundary of Tennessee. At this time Commodore Foote was giving assistance to General John Pope, in operations on the Mississippi, which resulted in the capture of strong fortifications at New Madrid and Island No. 10, and freeing the navigation of the great river for a long distance to the south.

Battle of
Shiloh,
April 6-7,
1862

New
Madrid and
Island No.
10, March
13-April 7,
1862

At the beginning of April, the greater part of the grand Army of the Potomac was moved by General McClellan to the foot of the peninsula between the York and James Rivers, for an advance thence to Richmond, the capital of the southern Confederacy. Seven sanguinary battles were fought in the campaign of three months which ensued,—at Williamsburg, Fair Oaks or Seven Pines, Mechanicsville, Gaines's Mill, Savage Station, Glendale, and Malvern Hill. The last five of these, known collectively as "the Seven Days Battles," were incident to a retreat of the Union army from its position near Richmond, on the Chickahominy, and from its communications with York River, to a defensive stand on the James. The campaign against Richmond had failed.

McClellan's
peninsular
campaign,
April-June,
1862

*Battles and
Leaders of
the Civil
War*, vol. 2

May 31-
June 1,
1862

In the battle of Fair Oaks, General Joseph E.

General
Robert
E. Lee

Long,
Memoirs of
Robert E.
Lee

"Stone-
wall"
Jackson

Johnston, hitherto commanding the Confederate forces in Virginia, was disabled by a wound, and his place was taken by General Robert E. Lee, who rose then to the highest renown among the soldiers of the Confederacy. Closely second to Lee in eminence among the Confederate commanders rose Thomas J. Jackson ("Stonewall" Jackson), from about the same critical juncture of the war, when he stopped a movement of reinforcements to McClellan by a daring and skillful raid down the Shenandoah Valley.

Farragut's
capture of
New
Orleans,
April 24,
1862

Mahan,
The Gulf,
ch. iii

On the Mis-
sissippi

General
Halleck

General
Pope in
Virginia,
Aug., 1862

News from the west in these months of the unfortunate peninsular campaign was more cheering. Admiral Farragut, with a fleet of wooden ships and gunboats, had passed the forts on the lower Mississippi, destroyed or captured an opposing fleet, and taken the city of New Orleans, which General Butler then entered and occupied, with 14,000 men. From New Orleans, Farragut ascended the Mississippi and secured control of the river as far as Vicksburg, the fortifications of which, on high bluffs, were impregnable to his guns. Fort Pillow and Memphis, on the upper reaches of the Mississippi, had been taken, and a Confederate river-fleet destroyed at the latter point. The Confederacy was losing steadily in its far western parts.

General Halleck, who had been in chief command of the Union forces at the west, was called now to a general command of the whole field of war, and General Pope, who had won a reputation for energy, was brought to Virginia, to

undertake a new campaign there. By Halleck's order, against the remonstrances of McClellan, the Army of the Potomac was brought back from the peninsula to the vicinity of Washington, and into coöperation with Pope. The latter made vigorous preparations for a direct movement on Richmond; but he had no ability to cope with the strategy of Lee and the deadly force with which Jackson could strike the blows that Lee had planned. They bewildered him by their movements, reached the rear of his army, while McClellan's forces were coming in detachments from the James, broke his lines in a series of fights, one of which occurred on the Bull Run ground, and drove him back to Washington in a disorderly retreat.

Second battle of Bull Run, Aug. 30, 1862

Then, while excitement bordered on panic at the north, Lee led his army into Maryland. Command of all the forces that could be brought against him was given to McClellan, and that excellent organizer used them with a promptitude that he had not shown before. Moving from Washington on the 5th of September, in pursuit of Lee, he fought him on the 14th at South Mountain and on the 17th at Antietam, with enough success to bring the invasion to an end. Simultaneously with Lee's invasion of Maryland, or nearly so, the Confederate General Bragg advanced through Tennessee into Kentucky, threatening Louisville and Cincinnati, until checked by General Buell at Perryville and forced to retreat.

Lee in Maryland

South Mountain and Antietam, Sept. 14, 17, 1862

Bragg in Kentucky

And now came that great war measure, the

President
Lincoln's
proclama-
tion of
emancipa-
tion

Nicolay
and Hay,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
6 : ch. vi,
viii, xix

Previous
treatment
of slavery

Compen-
sated
emancipa-
tion urged
by the
president.

Lincoln,
Writings, 2:
129-138,
204-207,
270-277

Abolition
in the
District of
Columbia

Proclamation of Emancipation,—that signature of Abraham Lincoln to a bit of writing which marked a new departure in the struggle for the Union and opened a new era in American history. So far, in the prosecution of the war, slavery, as such, had been untouched. Slaves of those in arms against the government had been dealt with like other property of an enemy, according to the rules of war. The earliest dictum on the subject was by General Butler, commanding at Fortress Monroe, who exacted an oath of allegiance to the United States from owners who claimed runaway slaves that had come within his lines. Slaves were contraband of war, he declared, and this ruling was approved at Washington. In July of the first year of the war, congress passed an act “to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,” including slaves. In March, of the next year, on the urgent recommendation of the president, it offered “pecuniary aid to any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery,” and Mr. Lincoln strove hard to persuade the slave States which adhered to the Union that their best interest would be promoted, and the rebellion most effectually discouraged, if they accepted such aid and set their black laborers free. A month later slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, with compensation to the owners of the emancipated slaves. In July an act was passed which provided for a general confiscation of the property of all persons in arms against the government, and for the liberation of their slaves.

This seemed to be the limit of legislative power in dealing with the subject; but the executive arm of government, in its military capacity, might reach farther and strike at the institution as a whole. From the beginning of the war many people, not so wise as the great man at the head of the government, nor so careful in weighing questions of duty and right, had been clamorous for emancipation by military decree. Two generals (Frémont and Hunter) had attempted it by their own authority, within the limits of their own commands, and President Lincoln had been denounced for countermanding their proclamations. He knew that the cause of the Union would be hurt more than helped by such an edict, unless it came to be called for as an extreme and necessary measure of war. It would anger the loyal slave States; it would divide opinion in the north; it might ruin the cause. He hated slavery; no one hated it more; but he took on guidance from personal feeling in what he did as president of the United States. He had sworn as president to "preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States," and in the fulfillment of that oath he was exercising all the military as well as all the civil powers of his office; but he had no right to use them for any purpose beyond. If he could see, or when he could see, that a military decree of emancipation would be helpful to the preservation of the constitution by the restoration of the Union, his duty would be to proclaim it; but not before.

Frémont's
and
Hunter's
proclama-
tions

The presi-
dent's
view of his
duty

These views restrained the measures of the president against slavery in the rebellious States until after the disastrous ending of the peninsular campaign. Then he became convinced that the freeing and arming of the slaves was necessary to success in the war, and his edict of emancipation was prepared. He was persuaded, however, by Mr. Seward, his secretary of state, to withhold the mandate till some victory improved the situation, and it remained in his desk for two months. On the first brightening of prospects, after the battle of Antietam and the retreat of Lee from Maryland, the great proclamation of freedom was sent forth. It declared that on the first day of January, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free." At the appointed time a second proclamation defined the area of the emancipation.

The proclamation prepared, July, 1862

The Proclamation issued, Sept. 22, 1862

Larned, *History for Ready Reference* (Full text)

Early effects of the proclamation

"War Democrats" and "Copperheads"

The early effects of the proclamation were not encouraging. It offended many Unionists in the border slave States, and most northern Democrats denounced it as a breach of the constitution and of no lawful effect. Party spirit in opposition to the Republican administration had been reviving for some time, and now acquired a more virulent tone. While a large section of the Democratic party, described as "War Democrats," sustained the war, but were sharply critical of the conduct of it, and denunciatory of

military arrests, military suspensions of the writ of habeas corpus, and other summary measures for silencing sedition, another section, which received the name of "Copperheads," became outspoken in sympathy with the Confederates and violent in opposition to the war. All these feelings worked strongly against the government in the fall elections of 1862, and the Republican majorities in the next congress were reduced.

From the last month of 1862 till the following mid-summer, the supporters of the Union went through a period of the utmost trial to their faith. One disaster succeeded another in the campaigning of the federal armies, east and west. After Lee's withdrawal from Maryland McClellan became inactive again, and early in November he was superseded in command of the Army of the Potomac by General Burnside. That commander moved the army to a position opposite Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock River, and there made an ill-judged assault on the Confederates, who were intrenched on the hills behind the town. The result was a dreadful repulse, with awful destruction of life. Then Burnside gave way to General Hooker, under whom the ill-fated Army of the Potomac, after lying in camp through the winter, was led to another heart-breaking defeat, at Chancellorsville, not far from the ground of its last reverse. This victory of the Confederates cost them the life of "Stonewall" Jackson, who was killed by a volley from his own ranks, fired by mistake. At the west the Union forces were

Period of
federal
reverses,
Dec., 1862-
July, 1863

Fredericks-
burg, Dec.
13, 1862

Chancel-
lorsville,
May 1-3,
1863

Stone
River, Dec.
31, 1862

faring little better. Bragg, in December, made another movement northward, and came near to routing the Army of the Cumberland, which met him at Stone River, near Murfreesboro, on the last day of the year. General Rosecrans, who had succeeded Buell in the Tennessee command, was saved from a crushing defeat, only by the splendid obstinacy and steadiness of General Thomas and his corps.

Conscrip-
tion act,
March,
1863

Unnatural
conditions
in the
country

Demoraliz-
ing influ-
ences

The winter was one of serious disheartenment at the north. Enlistments fell off to such a point that congress passed a conscription act in March, making all able-bodied citizens between twenty and forty-five years of age subject, when needed, to draft. In part, however, this was due to the fact that business competed eagerly with war in its demands for men. To supply the waste and consumption of war—wasting and consuming things as well as men—tasked the labor of the country to the last degree. In this respect, and in every other, unnatural conditions—unnaturally stimulating and exciting—were produced by the state of war. As the vast expenditures of the struggle rolled up their monstrous accumulations of debt for some far-away future to pay, an economic recklessness took possession of the nation at large. With every measure of value swept away, at the same time, by increasing floods of an irredeemable, but legal tender, paper money, on the rising tides of which all prices of the markets were swayed and tossed in capricious fluctuations, an era of speculative business and

extravagant living,—of wealth and vulgar luxury for a few and of poverty and hardship for the many,—was the inevitable result. Inevitably, too, the patriotism that upheld the cause of the Union was weakened by these pernicious influences, as well as discouraged by many military reverses; and yet its strength was equal to the need, and the hard struggle went on.

In other countries the disruption of the American Union was looked upon, almost universally, as an accomplished fact; and one, at least, among the European governments was eager to intervene and bring the war to an end. Napoleon III., emperor of the French, had persuaded himself from the beginning that the United States were no longer to be feared, and had undertaken a conquest of Mexico, in that belief. The British government would not join him, as he wished, in recognizing and assisting the Confederate States, but it did little to restrain its subjects from giving private aid to the revolt. Confederate agents were permitted to fit out cruisers in British ports and send them to sea, in the face of clear evidence that their mission was to prey upon the commerce of the United States. The ships and cargoes burned and sunk in the last two years of the war by the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and other British-built cruisers, raised a claim against England for many millions of indemnity, when the war closed.

In its unfriendly conduct toward the United States the British government was satisfying the aristocratic and wealthier classes of the kingdom,

Unfriendli-
ness abroad

Rhodes,
*History of
the U. S.
from 1850,*
4 : 76-95,
337-394

England
and the
Confeder-
ate cruisers

Friendli-
ness of the
English
masses

but not the masses of the common people. Generally, to the latter, whose feeling was expressed by the eloquent tongue of John Bright, the Confederacy was made odious by its championing of slavery, and the proclamation of emancipation won them to warm sympathy with the Union cause. Even the cotton spinners and weavers, who hungered because their spindles and looms were idle for want of cotton from America, would lend no ear to proposals of interference, for the opening of the blockaded ports.

Lee's
second
movement
northward,
June-July,
1863

Gettys-
burg, July
1-3, 1863

*Battles and
Leaders*
3 : 244-433

Vicksburg,
July 4, 1863

Grant,
*Personal
Memoirs*,
1 : ch. xxxi-
xxxviii

Port Hud-
son, July 8,
1863

Suddenly, in the summer of 1863, the military situation, and all the prospects of the American conflict, underwent a surprising change. General Lee, venturing again to lead his army from Virginia northward, was followed by the Army of the Potomac and brought to battle, at Gettysburg, in southern Pennsylvania, on the first three days of July. That battle of three days was the most terrific of the war, and the Confederates acknowledged defeat by retreat; but the Union forces, now commanded by General George G. Meade, were too much crippled for pursuit. While the north rejoiced, on the morning of Independence Day, over news of the Gettysburg victory, General Grant was receiving the surrender of Vicksburg, the stronghold of the Confederates on the Mississippi, after five weary months of labor, battle and siege. Four days later the Confederacy lost its last footing on the Mississippi by the surrender of Port Hudson to General Banks. To check the joy awakened in Union circles by

these great successes, there came now the first draft made under the conscription act, and a ferocious riot in resistance to it at New York, terrorizing that city for four days; but the general uplift of northern feeling was not lost.

Draft riot
in New
York,
July 13-16,
1863

Late in the summer, the loyalists of East Tennessee were delivered from their long subjection to the Confederacy, by General Burnside, who penetrated their mountain country from Kentucky, and by General Rosecrans, who forced Bragg out of Chattanooga and won possession of that vitally important post. But, in pursuing Bragg, Rosecrans exposed his forces unwisely, and again, at Chickamauga, as at Stone River, was saved by Thomas from a crushing defeat. Command of the Army of the Cumberland was now given to that fine soldier; but it came to him, at Chattanooga, beleaguered by the enemy and held practically in a state of siege. Help was needed for its extrication, and the task was assigned to General Grant, with a wide enlargement of his authority; while General William T. Sherman took command of Grant's old Army of the Tennessee. The ensuing Chattanooga campaign was one of the most brilliant operations of the war. Reinforced by General Hooker with two corps from the Army of the Potomac, and by Sherman with one corps from Memphis, the plans of General Grant were carried out in November with complete success. In two of the most spectacular battles ever fought the besieging forces were driven from Lookout Mountain and from

East Ten-
nessee

Chicka-
mauga,
Sept. 19-20,
1863

Grant at
Chatta-
nooga

Lookout
Mountain
and Mis-
sionary
Ridge,
Nov. 24-25,
1863

Missionary Ridge, not only rescuing the beleaguered Army of the Cumberland, but completing the deliverance of East Tennessee.

Lincoln's
Gettysburg
address,
Nov. 19,
1863

Larned,
"History
for Ready
Reference"
(Full text)

It was on the eve of these important events that President Lincoln touched the heart of the whole English-speaking world, by the surpassing tenderness and beauty of the few simple words that he spoke at the dedication of the national cemetery for the many dead of the great battle of Gettysburg.

Lincoln's
plan of re-
construc-
tion,
Dec., 1863

A little later, on sending his annual message to congress, the president issued with it a proclamation of amnesty, designed to open wide doors for the readmission to the Union of errant individuals and errant States. Excepting some classes of leaders and special offenders, it offered pardon and restored rights to all participants in the rebellion who would subscribe a given oath; and it authorized a reorganization of State government in any seceded State by those who subscribed the prescribed oath, if they numbered not less than one tenth of the number of votes cast at the presidential election of 1860 in such State. Under this proclamation the work of reconstruction was begun in Louisiana and Arkansas; and, had the wise, large-hearted statesman who planned it lived long enough to direct the full working of measures for the restoration of the Union, he might have saved the nation from some irreparable mistakes. Men in congress whose patriotism was more passionate than rational opposed the president's scheme of reconstruction,

Opposition
in congress

because of its leniency, and embodied measures of more severity in a bill which passed both houses in the last hours of their session, and which Mr. Lincoln would not sign. Public opinion sustained him so plainly that his opponents, attempting to renew their measure at the next session of congress, could carry it in neither house.

Public
support

The war had now entered its final stage, with Grant (raised to the supreme rank of lieutenant-general, which no other since Washington had held) at the head of all the Union forces, and Sherman in the western command. Grant in Virginia and Sherman in Georgia opened simultaneous campaigns in the early days of May. Between the 4th of that month and the 3d of June, Grant forced his way, across country, from the Rapidan to the Chickahominy, near Richmond, resisted by Lee in terrific battles, first within the forest of the region called The Wilderness, then at Spottsylvania Court House, again on the North Anna River, and finally at Cold Harbor, where a vain assault was made on the Confederate lines, with fearful cost. On the Union side, the killed and wounded in that awful month of battle were no less than 40,000; on the Confederate side the number was much less; but the Confederacy had fewer to lose, and fewer to replace the loss. Its armies were being worn out. From Cold Harbor Grant moved on to the James River, and crossed it, attempting to take Petersburg by a sudden stroke, which failed. For many months thereafter the Army of the Potomac

Grant, lieutenant-general, March 3, 1864

Grant's Virginia campaign, May 4-June 3, 1864

Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, ch. vi, viii-xiii

Battles and Leaders, 4: 118-246

In front of Petersburg, June, 1864-April, 1865

remained in front of Petersburg, making attacks on the forces there and at Richmond, and on Lee's communications with the south.

Lee attempted a diversion, by sending General Early into the Shenandoah Valley, to do what "Stonewall" Jackson had done formerly with such effect,—raiding northward, invading Maryland and Pennsylvania and threatening Washington. It was then that General Sheridan rose to his place among the most eminent soldiers of the war. Appointed by Grant to a command which embraced everything between his own operations and Sherman's, Sheridan defeated Early in a series of battles, at Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, drove the Confederates from the valley and laid it waste.

Sheridan
against
Early in
the Shen-
andoah,
Sept.-Oct.,
1864

Sherman's
campaign
in Georgia

Sherman,
Memoirs,
2 : ch. xvi-
xviii

Cox,
Atlania,
ch. iv-xiv

Destruction
of the
Alabama,
June 19,
1864

Meantime, General Sherman, opposed at the outset by the Confederate General Johnston, and later by General Hood, had fought battles at New Hope Church, at Kenesaw, and at Peach Tree Creek; had reached Atlanta and laid siege to it; had received the surrender of the city; had removed its few inhabitants, to make it a strictly military post, and was preparing for his famous "march to the sea."

In these months of active military work the navy was equally busy, performing notable exploits. The destructive career of the famous Confederate cruiser *Alabama* was brought to an end in June by the *Kearsage*, which encountered her on the coast of France and sank her in a battle that lasted but an hour. In August, Admiral

Farragut forced his way into the harbor of Mobile, as he had forced his way to New Orleans, destroying the naval force and capturing the forts which defended the port.

Farragut at
Mobile,
Aug. 5,
1864

In November, President Lincoln was reëlected by a large majority over General McClellan, whom the Democrats had put in nomination, and who went to the people with a demand for the "cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States or other peaceable means" for the restoration of the Union. On this issue the popular verdict was pronounced with decisive force.

Reëlection
of President
Lincoln,
Nov., 1864

Not many days after the election, Sherman set forth from Atlanta, to traverse the now exhausted Confederacy and prove it to be a nearly emptied shell. Hood had attempted to deter him by moving northward to his rear; but General Schofield, at Franklin, and General Thomas, at Nashville, defeated and shattered this last important body of Confederate troops in the west, while Sherman went his way, foraging for subsistence and leaving a widely desolated track. On the 10th of December the latter reached Savannah; on the 20th the Confederates evacuated that city; on the 15th of January Fort Fisher, at Wilmington, was taken by Admiral Porter and General Terry; on the 1st of February General Sherman resumed his march, turning northward, to coöperate with Grant.

Sherman's
march to
the sea
Sept.-Dec.,
1864

Sherman,
Memoirs, 2:
ch. xix-xxi

Cox,
*March to
the Sea*

Destruc-
tion of
Hood's
army,
Nov.-Dec.,
1864

Fall of
Savannah,
Dec. 20,
1864

And now came the closing scenes and incidents of the war. Early in February President Lincoln

Lincoln's
second
inaugural
address,
March 4,
1865

Schurz,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
103-104

Five Forks
—evacua-
tion of
Richmond
—Lee's
retreat,
April 1-9,
1865

Surrender
at Appo-
mattox,
April 9,
1865

Larned,
*History of
the U. S.*,
547

was persuaded to meet Vice-President Stephens and two other representatives of the Confederacy, on a steamer at Fortress Monroe; but their discussion of terms of peace had no result. On the 4th of March Mr. Lincoln entered on the second term of his presidency, and delivered an inaugural address, in which, as Mr. Carl Schurz has said, "he poured out the whole devotion and tenderness of his great soul. . . . No American president had ever spoken words like these to the American people. America never had a president who found such words in the depth of his heart. At Richmond the Confederate authorities had lost hope of holding their capital and were preparing for a southwestward retreat. Grant hastened their movements by an attack, led by Sheridan, who broke Lee's lines at Five Forks. This compelled so hasty an evacuation of both Petersburg and Richmond that large parts of the latter city were destroyed by fires which started from the burning of public stores. Lee, retreating with an army reduced to barely 30,000 men, was pursued by more than twice that number and could not escape. At Appomattox Court House he gave up the attempt and surrendered what remained of his little force. "He and his worn veterans could yield with no shame, for they had fought against tremendous odds, as stubbornly, as bravely, and as skillfully as any army in the history of the world. It is a satisfaction to know that the terms of surrender were made generous by Grant."

Virtually the war was ended by the surrender of

General Lee. General Johnston's forces were surrendered on the 26th of April, and all remaining forces laid down their arms in the course of the following month. Before that consummation was reached the awful tragedy of the murder of President Lincoln had occurred. He had been with General Grant, at City Point, when Richmond was entered by the Union troops, and had made two visits to that city, attending to questions that arose from the altered state of affairs. After returning to Washington, he made a carefully considered speech, in response to a public serenade, reviewing the steps toward reconstruction that he had taken already, indicating the dispassionate and liberal temper in which he would strive to have the same work continued, and intimating his opinion that "the very intelligent" among the freed blacks, and "those who serve our cause as soldiers," should be made voters in the reconstructed states, but not the whole mass of late slaves. Three days later, on the evening of the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter, the weary head of the nation sought an hour of relaxation at the theater, with his wife and a party of friends, and there, in his box, he was shot by the stealthy assassin, who crept into it unseen, and who escaped before his deed was understood.

End of
the war

President
Lincoln at
Richmond

His recon-
struction
speech at
Washing-
ton, April
11, 1865

The murder
of President
Lincoln,
April 14,
1865

Nicolay
and Hay,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
10 : ch. xiv-
xv

The assassination of the president proved to be in connection with a conspiracy of murder which contemplated the death of the vice-president, Andrew Johnson, and of Mr. Seward, the secre-

The assas-
sins and
their con-
spiracy

tary of state. Mr. Seward was attacked in his house the same evening, and wounded, but not mortally; Mr. Johnson was not reached. John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of the president and contriver of the whole foul plot, was tracked in his flight from Washington, and, on refusing to surrender, was shot. The other conspirators were tried by a military court, and four of them, including a woman, were hanged.

These plotters of murder, and one Confederate prisonkeeper, who had been murderous in his cruel treatment of Union prisoners of war, were the only actors in or partisans of the rebellion (spies excepted) who suffered a death penalty, imposed by any civil or military court. There were no trials for treason, nor political prosecutions of any kind. Mr. Davis, the fallen president of the fallen Confederacy, was imprisoned for two years, then admitted to bail, and shared in a general amnesty, proclaimed in December, 1868.

Jefferson
Davis

The huge armies of the Union were dissolved as rapidly as they had been formed. By the middle of November, 1865, 800,000 men had been mustered out of service and returned to their homes. From first to last there had been 2,200,000 enlisted on the national side, and not less than 1,000,000 had been on the Confederate rolls. About 360,000 on one side and 250,000 or 300,000 on the other had perished in the course of the war, from wounds or disease. More than 2,000 battles and minor engagements had been fought. The government had expended \$3,250,000,000 in the

Statistics
of the war

prosecution of the war, and ended it with a national debt of \$2,808,549,000. Such statistics may help to convey to one's mind some conception of the appalling magnitude of the war.

Vice-President Andrew Johnson, made president by the death of Mr. Lincoln, was a loyal East Tennessean, who refused to recognize the secession of his State, and had represented it in the senate of the United States till the end of his term. After the occupation of Nashville by the Union forces he had been made military governor of Tennessee, and he had been closely associated with the party in power throughout the war; but his political opinions were those of a Democrat, and his relations in the presidency to the party which elected him vice-president were much like those of John Tyler, tending to a like result. He wished to proceed in the reconstruction of the Union on Mr. Lincoln's lines, though inclined, it appeared, to more severity of dealing with the chiefs of the fallen Confederacy; but he had none of Lincoln's surpassing political wisdom and wonderful tact. Hence he could not win the confidence of the nation, and could not keep the mastery of the situation which Lincoln had. He could not, or did not, check proceedings in the process of his reconstruction measures which alarmed northern sentiment; which involved him in open quarrels with the radicals of the Republican party, and which enabled the latter to win most of the party to their support.

President
Andrew
Johnson,
1865-1869

Wilson,
*Division
and
Reunion*,
ch. xi

His rela-
tions to the
party in
power

President
Johnson's
rupture
with con-
gress

The result was an open issue between executive

His im-
peachment,
Feb., 1868

Congres-
sional
reconstruc-
tion

Blaine,
*Twenty
Years of
Congress*,
2: ch. viii-
xii

Thirteenth,
Fourteenth
and Fif-
teenth
Amend-
ments to
the consti-
tution,
1865-1870

and legislative authority, and a practical negation of the former during the last three years of President Johnson's term. Hostility to the president became so passionate that he was impeached, but no conviction was secured. His reconstructive work, and that of President Lincoln, were all undone, by acts of congress, passed over the executive veto, which provided for a fresh reorganization of the lately rebellious States, under military supervision; which gave the suffrage to the freed negroes, affirmed their citizenship, and placed their civil and political rights and privileges under the protection of the courts and the military and naval forces of the United States. This affirmation of the citizenship of the freed blacks, with provisions intended to secure them in the possession of rights, civil and political, in strict equality with white citizens, were then embodied in a proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution, which the States undergoing reconstruction were required to ratify, before congress would admit them to representation as members of the federal union. A Thirteenth Amendment, prohibiting slavery "within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction," had been submitted by congress to the States in February, 1865, and its adoption was proclaimed before that year closed. A Fifteenth Amendment, forbidding the United States or any State to deny or abridge the right of citizens of the United States to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," was

submitted in February, 1869, and became of force in March, 1870. Reconstruction was completed in the following January, when congress received senators and representatives from Virginia, the last of the seceding States to be restored.

Working of
the recon-
struction
acts —

A state of things most scandalous and deplorable was produced by the congressional methods of reconstruction in most of the southern States. By the enfranchisement of colored citizens and disfranchisement of large leading classes of white men, the former were endowed suddenly with supreme political power. Their votes, which men bred as slaves could not possibly cast with intelligence or independence, became controlling for several years, almost everywhere, in public affairs. Political adventurers were never given a more unlimited opportunity for organizing rascality and recklessness in government, and they made the most of it without delay. Resistance by violent measures, to intimidate colored voters and frighten them out of public offices, was then resorted to by the disfranchised whites, who formed secret societies for the purpose, under different names at first, but all finally merged in the formidable Ku-Klux Klan. For nearly a decade the nation was disgraced by the anarchy and corruption that prevailed in the south.

Burgess, \
Reconstruction,
244-264

Southern
resistance

The Ku-
Klux Klan

Nor was the evil condition of things confined to the south. The period was one of widespread demoralizations in the country at large, especially in political and commercial affairs. The country

Wide-
spread
demoraliza-
tions

Frauds and
thievish
"rings"

was suffering from the after effects of the war, from intensified vices in the "spoils system" of the public service, and from the pernicious stimulation of extravagance and gambling speculation by a depreciated legal tender paper money. It was scandalized and outraged by discoveries of fraud in the war department, custom-house and Indian bureau; by exposures of a "whiskey ring" robbing the national treasury, a "Tweed ring" plundering the city of New York, a "Fisk and Gould ring" looting the Erie Railway, with the help of corrupted courts.

General
Grant,
president,
1869-1877

First civil
service re-
form act,
1871

Settlement
of the
Alabama
claims,
1871-1872

Such incidents of the after-war demoralization cast something of an unfortunate shadow on the administration of General Grant, who was elected to the presidency in 1868, and reëlected in 1872. But the same administration is distinguished by many vigorous undertakings of correction and reform,—most importantly by the first act of congress in the interest of "civil service reform," which was passed in 1871, upon the recommendation of President Grant. It is distinguished still more by its settlement with Great Britain of claims growing out of the depredations committed by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers or commerce-destroyers, built and fitted out in British ports. Under a treaty signed at Washington in 1871, the "*Alabama* claims," so-called, were submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, which sat at Geneva, Switzerland, the following year, and which awarded an indemnity of \$15,500,000 to the United States.

Further unification of Italy

During the years of the fierce war in America, Europe in general was at peace, but circumstances were preparing for great and violent changes in that part of the world. In 1862 Garibaldi raised volunteers for the overthrow of the papal government at Rome; but King Victor Emmanuel, who waited patiently for the attainment of the same result by diplomatic means, suppressed the unwise attempt. Two years later, the king of Italy brought about an agreement with the French emperor to withdraw his garrison from Rome, and, after that had been done, the annexation of Rome to the Italian kingdom was a mere question of time. It came about in 1870, after the fall of Louis Napoleon, and Victor Emmanuel transferred his capital to Rome. The pope's domain was then limited to the precincts of the Vatican.

Garibaldi

End of the
temporal
power of
the pope,
1870**The unification of Germany**

The unification of Italy was the first of a remarkable series of nationalizing movements, which have been the most significant feature of the history of the last half of the nineteenth century. The next of these movements to begin was in Germany—the much divided country of one peculiarly homogeneous and identical race. Influences tending toward unification had been acting on the Germans since Prussia rose to superiority in the north. By the middle of the century, the educated, military Prussia that was founded after 1806 had become a power capable

Sybel, *The
Founding of
the German
Empire*,
v. 3-5The
Prussian
nucleus
of a united
Germany

King William of Prussia and Otto von Bismarck

The Schleswig-Holstein imbroglio, 1863-1866

The Austro-Prussian Seven Weeks War, 1866]

of great things in capable hands; and the capable hands received it. Frederick William IV., king of Prussia since 1840, died in 1861, after four years of mental incapacity, and his brother William, who had been regent in that interval, became king. In the following year King William called Otto von Bismarck to his counsels, and, under the lead and inspiration of that remarkable statesman, began the course of policy which raised Prussia to the headship of a new Germanic empire, and to a place in the front rank of European powers. Bismarck found his first opportunity for the aggrandizement of his country in an old and obscure question between Denmark and the German Confederation, relative to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Some occurrences that happened fortunately for his plans reopened this Schleswig-Holstein question in 1863, and he succeeded in luring Austria (whose pretensions to leadership in German affairs he planned to break down) into a joint undertaking with Prussia, for the occupation of the disputed duchies and their separation from the Danish crown. In 1864 the project was carried out; a year later Prussia and Austria were in quarrel over the administration of the duchies; in 1866 they fought the quarrel out, and Austria was vanquished in a Seven Weeks War, finished at the crushing battle of Sadowa, or Königgrätz. The superiority of Prussia, organized by her great military administrator and soldier, Moltke, was overpowering; her rival was at her mercy;

but Bismarck and his king were wisely magnanimous. They refrained from inflicting on the Austrians a humiliation that would rankle and keep enmities alive. They foresaw the need of future friendship between the two powers of central Europe, as against Russia on the one side and France on the other, and they shaped their policy to secure it. It sufficed them to have put Austria out of the German circle forever; to have ended the false relation in which the Hapsburgs—rulers of an essentially Slavonic and Magyar dominion—had stood toward Germany so long.

Austria out
of the Ger-
man circle

Prussia now dominated the surrounding German states so commandingly that the mode and the time of their unification may be said to have been within her own control. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Schleswig-Holstein and Frankfurt were incorporated in the Prussian kingdom at once. Saxony and the other states of the north were enveloped in a North German Confederation, with the king of Prussia for its hereditary president and commander of its forces. The states of southern Germany were left unfederated for the time being, but bound themselves by treaty to put their armies at the disposal of Prussia. Thus Germany as a whole was already made practically one power, under the control of King William and the great minister to whom he gave a free hand.

Aggran-
dizement of
Prussia

Complete unification of Italy

The same war which unified Germany carried forward the nationalization of Italy another step.

Austria out
of Venetia,
1866

Victor Emmanuel had been shrewd enough to form an alliance with Prussia before the war began, and he attacked Austria in Venetia simultaneously with the German attack on the Bohemian side. The Italians were beaten at Custozza, and their navy was defeated in the Adriatic; but the victorious Prussians exacted Venetia for them in the settlement of peace, and Austria had no longer any foothold in the Italian peninsula.

Federation of Austria-Hungary

The dual
empire

It is greatly to the credit of Austria, long blinded and stupefied by the narcotic of absolutism, that the lessons of the war of 1866 sank deep into her mind and produced a very genuine enlightenment. The whole policy of the court of Vienna was changed, and with it the constitution of the empire. The statesmen of Hungary were called into consultation with the statesmen of Austria, and the outcome of their discussions was an agreement which swept away the old Austria, holding Hungary in subjection, and created in its place a new power—a federal Austria-Hungary—equalized in its two principal parts, and united under the same sovereign with distinct constitutions.

Franco-German War

Moltke,
The
Franco-
German
War

The surprising triumph of Prussia in the Seven Weeks War stung Louis Napoleon with a jealousy which he could not conceal. He was incapable of perceiving what it signified,—of perfection in the organization of the Prussian kingdom and of



EMPEROR WILLIAM I

From the painting by Emil J. Hunten (1827-1902), of the Emperor's staff

power in its resources. He was under illusions as to his own strength. His empire had been honeycombed by the rascalities that attended and surrounded him, and he did not know it. He imagined France to be capable of putting a check on Prussian aggrandizement; and he began very early after Sadowa to pursue King William with demands which were tolerably certain to end in war. When the war came, in July, 1870, it was by his own declaration; yet Prussia was prepared for it and France was not. In six week's time from the declaration of war,—in one month from the first action,—Napoleon himself was a prisoner of war in the hands of the Germans, surrendered at Sedan, with the whole army which he personally commanded; the empire was in collapse, and a provisional government had taken the direction of affairs. On the 20th of September Paris was invested; on the 28th of October Bazaine, with an army of 150,000 men, capitulated at Metz. A hopeless attempt to rally the nation to fresh efforts of defense in the interior, on the Loire, was made valiantly under the lead of Gambetta; but it was too late. When the year closed, besieged Paris was at the verge of starvation and all attempts to relieve the city had failed. On the 28th of January, 1871, an armistice was sought and obtained; on the 30th, Paris was surrendered and the Germans entered it. The treaty of peace signed subsequently ceded Alsace to Germany, with a fifth of Lorraine, and bound France to pay a war indemnity of five milliards of francs.

Prussia
challenged
to war by
Louis
Napoleon

Sedan,
Sept. 1,
1870

German
siege of
Paris, Sept.
20, 1870-
Jan. 30,
1871

The cost of
peace to
France

The making of a Federal Germanic Empire

William of
Prussia
becomes
emperor
Jan. 18,
1871

While the Germans were besieging Paris, their statesmen and princes were framing the constitution of a new Germanic Confederation, which should embrace the states of south Germany, as well as those of the north, with the king of Prussia, its president, raised to imperial rank. Agreements were reached and the imperial constitution adopted before the end of the year, whereupon King William of Prussia assumed the title of German emperor, on the 18th of January, 1871, while occupying the grand palace of Louis XIV., at Versailles.

Birth of the Third Republic in France

Thiers,
president

In February, 1871, the provisional "government of national defense" gave way in France to a national assembly, duly elected under the provisions of the armistice, and an executive was instituted at Bordeaux, under the presidency of M. Thiers. Early in March, the German forces were withdrawn from Paris, and control of the city was seized immediately by that dangerous element—Jacobinical, or red republican, or communistic, as it may be described variously,—which always shows itself with promptitude and power in the French capital, at disorderly times. The "commune" was proclaimed, and the national government was defied. From the 2d of April until the 28th of May Paris was again under siege, this time by forces of the French government, fighting to overcome the revolutionists

The Paris
"com-
mune"

French
siege of
Paris, April
2-May 28,
1871

within. The proceedings of the latter were more wantonly destructive than those of the Terrorists of the Revolution, and scarcely less sanguinary. The commune was suppressed in the end with great severity.

Great Britain and Ireland

During the war in America the Liberal party held power in Great Britain, but it was the Liberal party in an early stage of its development, before its constituency had been broadened and while Russell and Palmerston were its parliamentary chiefs. The liberalism of Palmerston had never been ardent, and that of Russell had cooled with age. The latter believed, however, that the time had come for a further step in popularizing the parliamentary representation, and he prepared a new reform bill in 1867; but his proposals were not favored and he resigned. Then the Conservatives came into office, and Disraeli thought to strengthen his party by a surprising concession to the pressing demand for a widened representation of the people. When his bill came into parliament the advanced Liberals forced him to give it a scope much beyond his intention, and beyond even the desires of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. The result was a most unexpected leap in English progress toward democracy in government, adding a great body of small rent-paying and rate-paying householders to the voting class.

Russell and
Palmerston

Disraeli's
reform bill,
1867

By this time, political sentiment in the Liberal party had become more genuinely liberalized,

The liberal-
ized Liberal
party

under the influence of such men as Gladstone, Bright, and Cobden, and the party itself had been reinforced. Public opinion was becoming attentive to the wrongs of Ireland, and Gladstone, in the spring of 1868, was able to pass resolutions in the house of commons in favor of releasing the Catholic Irish people from the compulsory support of that established Protestant church which had tithed and taxed them for three hundred years. This forced the Conservative ministry, under Earl Derby and Mr. Disraeli, to resign, and Mr. Gladstone become premier for the next five years. In that period, what seemed to be hardly less than a revolutionary change in the domestic institutions and policy of the United Kingdom was produced, by the remarkable number of important measures that were carried into effect. Aside from Irish measures, to be spoken of presently, a national system of common schools was established, partly controlled, however, as "church schools," by the established church; dissenters were admitted, for the first time, to the great universities, by abolition of the old oppressive "test oath;" the selling of commissions in the army was abolished; use of the secret ballot in voting was introduced. In external matters the policy of the government was pacific, and it was at pains to recover friendly relations with the United States, by the treaty of Washington, which settled the "*Alabama* claims," so-called, in 1871.

Gladstone's
first minis-
try, 1868-
1874

Morley,
Life of
Gladstone,
2 : bk. 6

Gladstone's
measures

Treaty of
Washing-
ton, 1871

It was in Ireland, however, that this Gladstone

ministry performed its most notable work, addressing itself with earnestness to undertakings for a removal of the causes of Irish discontent. For a time after the heart-breaking famine of 1845-47, and the feeble plotting of the Young Ireland party, there had been a despairing quiet in the island; and then came a revival of passionate animosity to British rule, producing the Fenian conspiracies, which ran their course from about 1858 to 1867. Those conspiracies drew most of their encouragement and support from the Irish in America, who had immigrated in vast numbers since the famine, and had prospered fairly well. Many of them had served in the American civil war, and they were eager to furnish men as well as money for the attacks on Great Britain which the Fenian brotherhood proposed. But the whole movement was made futile by weak or dishonest management, and produced nothing but some planless raids into Canada from the American border, and an abortive rising in Ireland, in 1867. Two years later, Mr. Gladstone was able to begin the long effort of his public life to heal the sense of wrong in Irish minds. First, he took in hand the religious grievance, and disestablished the Irish branch of the church of England, styled the church of Ireland, which, having in its membership a tenth, only, of the population of the island, had been supported, nevertheless, by the taxation of the whole. The Catholics, the Presbyterians and other dissenters were now released

Irish discontent

Fenian conspiracies,
1858-1867

Disestablishment of
the Irish church,
July, 1869

First Irish
land bill,
1870

from this unjust burden. Then, in 1870, he turned to the land question and passed a bill, the first of several which restrict the power of Irish landlords to oppress their tenants, and which protect the latter, while opening opportunities for the ownership of land.

Revolution and restoration in Spain

Expulsion
of Queen
Isabella,
1868

In Spain, a liberal party, and even a republican party, had been gaining ground for some years. Queen Isabella placed herself in conflict with it, and a revolution occurred in 1868 which drove her into France. The revolutionists offered the crown to a prince related distantly to the royal family of Prussia. It was this incident that gave Louis Napoleon a pretext for quarreling with the king of Prussia in 1870 and declaring war. Declined by the Hohenzollern prince, the Spanish crown was then offered to Amadeo, son of the king of Italy, who accepted it, but resigned it again in 1873, after a reign of two years, in disgust with the factions which troubled him. Castelar, the distinguished republican orator, then formed a republican government which held the reins for a few months, but could not establish order in the troubled land. The monarchy was restored in December, 1874, by the coronation of Alfonso XII., son of the exiled Isabella.

An Italian
king, 1871
1873

A short-
lived
republic,
1873-1874

Russia

Nearly two years in advance of the emancipation of black slaves in the United States, by the

Emancipa-
tion of serfs
by Alexan-
der II.,
March 3,
1861

Aims of
the tzar

Anarchism
and Nihil-
ism

military proclamation of President Lincoln, the white serfs of Russia—last relics of European serfdom—were set free by the autocratic edict of the tzar Alexander II., who succeeded his father, Nicholas I., on the Russian throne, in 1855. With the decree of emancipation—issued on the 3d of March (Old Style, February 19), 1861,—went measures for assisting the freed peasants to become possessors of land, with important communal rights. Results, apparently, have not fully realized the generous intention of good to the humble mass of his subjects that inspired the tzar. That he began his reign with large views and generous aims, and strove hard for a number of years to reform a government that is despotized by many social forces which its theoretical autocrat has no power to control, is hardly open to doubt. But his work was timed unfortunately, in the period when socialistic ferments in Europe were generating demands of a kind which nothing rational in government could satisfy, and the long repression of the Russian mind had made it peculiarly susceptible to that unnatural heating of free thought. The tzar's empire became the very center of propagation for mad theories of Anarchism and Nihilism,—for mad conspiracies against all government and law. Their antagonism checked and repelled his inclinations toward political reform, and produced a hardened temper in the later years of his reign.

For some years past the Russians had been pushing their western Siberian frontiers south-

Russian
advance in
Central
Asia,
1859-1869

ward, slowly completing the subjugation of the Kirghiz hordes, and advancing their posts into the heart of that Central Asian region of which almost nothing had been known to Europe since the days of Timour, who made his capital at Samarkand. About 1859, having established their posts on the Aral and the Jaxartes, they entered resolutely upon the conquest of Turkestan, and received the submission of Tashkend, Khokhand and Bokhara in the course of the next ten years. Having then reached the Oxus, and become the successors of Greeks, Huns, Turks, Arabs and Tatars, in ancient Sogdiana, they paused for a short time.

British America

Commer-
cial
reciprocity
treaty with
the U. S.,
1854-1865

An important arrangement of free trade between Canada and the United States, for certain enumerated articles, was effected by a treaty of reciprocity negotiated and ratified in 1854. The treaty was obnoxious to the champions of protectionism in the United States, and, at the end of the ten years for which it was required to be in force, the authorities at Washington gave the requisite notice of abrogation. It expired, accordingly, in 1865.

Confedera-
tion of the
Dominion
of Canada,
1867

The event of most importance in British-American history occurred in 1867, when the Dominion of Canada was created, by a federal union of the former province of Canada with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, under a statute of the imperial parliament, known as the British

North America Act. Provision was made in the act for the subsequent accession of Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and British Columbia, and for the acquisition of the great domain of the Hudson Bay Company (Rupert's Land and the Northwest), stretching northward to the Arctic Sea. British Columbia was brought into the confederation in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873. Newfoundland has declined to enter it, thus far. In 1870 the Dominion government made terms with the Hudson Bay Company and obtained the cession of all its rights; but had to deal with some resistance from settlers in the Red River region, in and around Fort Garry (now the city of Winnipeg), where an effort at rebellion was headed by one Louis Riel. It was easily overcome, and that section of the Dominion territory, organized as the province of Manitoba, was received into the confederation at once.

Bourinot,
Canada,
ch. xxv-
xxvii

Acquisition
of Hudson
Bay Terri-
tory, 1870

Mexico

For years after the war with the United States, the intervals between one revolution or rebellion and another, in Mexico, were brief and rare. Stability of government seemed a wholly impossible thing for the country to attain. In 1861 the apparently lawful president was Benito Juarez, a Mexican of pure Indian blood, who had been president of the supreme court of justice, and, as such, had become acting president when his predecessor, Commonfort, was driven from the country by a successful revolt. In his turn he had

Bancroft,
*History of
the Pacific
States*, 9 :
ch. i-xiv

President
Benito
Juarez,
1858-1872

rebellion to fight with, and held his ground against it sufficiently to win an election to the presidency in the spring of 1861. Meantime, he had drawn upon himself and his party the implacable enmity of the church, by a decree sequestrating church property, and had challenged foreign intervention by another decree, suspending payment of interest for two years on the Mexican public debt.

1859

Foreign in-
tervention,
1861French
conquest,
1861-1863Maxi-
milian's
empire,
1864-1867

The effect of this last measure was experienced in 1861, when English, French and Spanish creditors of Mexico induced their several governments to unite in an undertaking for the forcible collection of their dues. A joint expedition was sent accordingly, Spain and England having no other purpose than to enforce their claims. Soon discovering that their trickish French ally, Napoleon III., had other designs, and aimed at a conquest of Mexico, they withdrew from the expedition and left him alone. He, taking advantage of the civil war then distracting the United States, increased his forces in Mexico and prosecuted a war which resulted in the overthrow of the government of Juarez, and the proclamation of a Mexican empire, with an Austrian archduke, Maximilian, upon its throne. Supported by French arms, the foreign emperor was able to act his part as such till 1867, when his patron, Napoleon, gave heed to the insistence of the United States that he should withdraw his troops. Left then to his own defense, a few weeks sufficed for Maximilian's defeat, capture, and tragical death.

In a desperate assertion of his sovereignty, he had decreed death to all who resisted it, and men taken in arms against him had been shot. This His fate
doomed him to the same fate.

The government of Juarez was restored, with The
restored
republic
fairly general support from the people, notwithstanding the hostility of the church; but civil war broke out again in 1871, when the Juaristas reelected their chief for another term. While the struggle was in progress, Juarez died, and Mexico recovered peace for three years. New commotions then arose, ending in the attainment of power by the remarkable man, General Porfirio Diaz, whose advent marked the beginning, for the Mexican republic, of an astonishing new career.

Paraguayan War

After the death (1840) of Dr. Francia, the original dictator-despot of Paraguay, a similar despotism was established in that submissive country by one Lopez, who conducted it for twenty-one years, and then passed it on to his son, with a large revenue and a large surplus in hand. Lopez II., a depraved and malignant creature, formed an army which he thought invincible, and proceeded to conduct himself like one insane, picking quarrels with his neighbors, and dealing out torture and death to all around him. The United States minister to Paraguay, Mr. Washburn, had a narrow escape from his hands. The result was an alliance of Brazil, Uruguay and the Argentine republic against him, 1865-1870

1872
Dictator
Lopez II.,
1862-1870

in a horrible war, of five years duration, which consumed the larger part of the male population of Paraguay, but delivered the country at last by the despot's overthrow and ignominious death.

Egypt and the Sudan

Mehemet Ali had been able to make his pashalik or viceroyalty of Egypt an hereditary office in his family, and transmitted it to the descendants of an adopted son. His fourth successor, Ismail Pasha, who mounted the vicerojal throne in 1863, became an important figure in the history of his time, by the extravagant splendors with which he surrounded himself, as well as by the bold enterprises that he undertook for the development of the material resources of his realm. He persuaded the sultan to raise his title to that of "khedive," which signifies, it is said, a close approach to royal rank. It was during his reign that the Suez Canal, authorized by his predecessor and begun in 1859, was finished and opened in 1869.

Ismail
Pasha,
1863-1879

The pasha
becomes
"khedive,"
1867

The Suez
Canal, 1869

Ambitious to subjugate the tribes of the Sudan, Ismail sought and received European help, under promises to suppress slave-catching and the slave-trade. Sir Samuel Baker, the English explorer, was first commissioned for the task, in 1870, as governor-general of the provinces to be subdued. In the course of three years, with a small body of troops, Baker enforced his authority in a district surrounding Gondokoro; but the subjugation of the Sudan and the extirpation of the slave-hunters were beyond the means at his command.

Japan

To disturb the artificial conditions that had existed in Japan since the days of Ieyasu, by so great an innovation as the admission of foreigners to the empire, was to shatter them altogether, and the shogunate system of government went down in the break. It was forced to acknowledge its powerlessness to control the daimios (feudal lords) who resented the foreign treaties, who armed and fortified themselves for war, whose retainers made murderous attacks on foreign representatives, and one of whom went so far as to open fire from his forts on ships passing through a Japanese strait. Thereupon the treaty powers took measures of chastisement into their own hands, and after two hostile daimios, in the Satsuma and the Choshu lordships, had experienced an encounter with western warships and marines, the disposition of those lords was greatly changed. The attitude of the mikado's court underwent an equal change, and its consent to the foreign treaties was signified in 1865.

But, while resistance to the shogunate foreign policy gave way, the movement to recover for the mikado the executive authority which the shoguns had usurped went on, and increased in strength. In November, 1867, the reigning shogun yielded to it, or appeared to do so; but ultimately he resisted deposition, and there were some months of civil war, ending in the shogun's discomfiture and the complete restoration of the mikado's sovereign power. The last resistance to

Nitobe,
*Intercourse
between the
U. S. and
Japan*,
ch. iii

Weakening
of the sho-
gunate gov-
ernment

Chastise-
ment of
hostile
daimios

Fall of the
shogun,
1867-1869

Yedo
becomes
Tokyo,
1869

the imperial forces was in the summer of 1869. In the following November the mikado's court was removed from Kyoto, where it had been located since A. D. 794, to Yedo, the capital of the late shogunate, the name of which city was then changed to Tokyo, signifying eastern capital, while Kyoto was newly named Saikyo, or the capital in the west.

End of feudalism

Abolition
of the
daimiates,
Aug. 7,
1869

Before this occurred, the ancient feudal system of provincial government had been, like the shogunate, cleared from the path of progress to which Japan now turned. It was abolished with the consent—even request—of the leading daimios; or, rather, on the initiative of the capable ministers,—members of the samurai or military class,—who performed the functions of those generally effete lords. By an imperial decree, the daimiates were abolished, with compensation to the daimios for revenues lost, and prefectures were organized in their stead. Then Japan stood prepared for an eager and quick absorption of the modern knowledge so long denied to her, and began the new career which has so amazed the world.

CHAPTER XXIII

FROM BISMARCK'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF VICTORIA

(1871 to 1901)

The Peace Conference at The Hague. *Great Britain and Ireland:* Beaconsfield and "jingoism."—The third reform bill.—Gladstone's Irish home rule bills.—Rupture in the Liberal party.—Salisbury ministry.—Pacifying measures for Ireland.—Death of Queen Victoria. *The French Republic:* The Dreyfus agitation.—Public control of education. *The German Empire:* William II.—Imperial egotism.—The new Germany.—Socialistic paternalism. *Russia and her neighbors:* Russo-Turkish war.—Russian treatment of Finland.—Development of Siberia.—Dangerous discontent in the empire. *Japan, China, Korea, and the Russians in eastern Asia:* War between Japan and China.—Treatment of China by western powers.—The "Boxer" outbreak.—Russian designs in Manchuria. *Egypt and the Sudan:* Foreign control of Egyptian finances.—Arabi's revolt.—British suppression of it.—The "Mahdi" in the Sudan.—Fate of Colonel Gordon.—Egyptian conquest of the Sudan. *The partitioning of Africa:* The Congo Free State.—The Berlin Conference.—Scramble for African territory. *Boer-Bruton war:* Its causes and results. *The United States:* Conditions in the south.—Monetary questions.—Greenback and Silver parties.—Tariff questions.—Civil service reform.—War with Spain.—Acquisition and subjugation of the Philippines.—Liberation of Cuba.—Panama Canal.—Material progress.—Imperialistic ambitions. *Elsewhere:* Prosperity in Canada.—Progress under Diaz in Mexico.—Fall of the Brazilian empire.—Confederation of Australian colonies.—Socialistic experiments in New Zealand.

In the brief period that we surveyed last there were three great wars and many minor ones fought, in different parts of the world. In the period that we now enter, we shall find, perhaps, as much war as we have noted in any equal stretch of previous time. The greater nations are lying, so to speak, on their arms, watching one another with jealous hearts: Germany, France, Austria, Russia, Italy, maintain armies, even in years of peace, that would have seemed monstrous, not long ago, for actual war; England is adding more, and always more, to the hundreds of

Continued
prevalence
of war

Military
and naval
armaments

her battle ships and cruisers; the United States are making haste to secure a place among the foremost of the naval powers, and all the lesser nations are supporting fleets and military armaments beyond their means. The preparation for battle is so vast in its scale, so unceasing, so increasing, so far in the lead beyond all other efforts among men, that it seems like a new affirmation of belief that war is the natural order of the world.

Yet the
influences
for peace
grow
powerful

And yet, the dread of war is greater in the civilized world than ever before. The interests and influences that work for peace are more powerful than at any former time. The wealth which war threatens, the commerce which it interrupts, the industry which it disturbs, the intelligence which it offends, the humanity which it shocks, the Christianity which it grieves, grow stronger to resist it, year by year. The statesman and the diplomatist are under checks of responsibility which a generation no older than Palmerston's never felt. The arbitrator and the tribunal of arbitration have become familiar within a quarter of a century. The spirit of the age opposes war with rising earnestness and increasing force; while the circumstance and fact of the time seem arranged for it as the chief business of mankind.

The Peace Conference at The Hague

When, in 1898, the czar of Russia proposed a conference of all governments for the purpose of

seeking "the most effective means of assuring to all peoples the blessings of real and lasting peace, and above all of limiting the progressive development of existing armaments," a happy surprise of hope, that war might be checked, if not ended, was felt in the world. All nations of importance responded to the tzar's invitation, and their representatives were assembled in conference at The Hague, in Holland, from the 18th of May till the 29th of July, 1899. The fruits of the conference were three conventions, signed then or since and formally ratified by most of the civilized nations of the world. The convention of greatest importance relates to "the pacific settlement of international disputes," by means of the "good offices and mediation" of neutral powers, or by "international commissions of inquiry," or by a "permanent court of arbitration." By a second convention "the laws and customs of war on land" were agreed upon and defined; while a third was for "the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864," relative to the protection of the wounded and sick. The permanent court of arbitration, as planned by the conference, composed of arbitrators selected by the signatory powers, each naming four persons, was organized at The Hague on the first of January, 1901. Some disputes have been referred to it since and have received settlement at its hands; but thus far it has not given much practical proof of its importance as an agency for the preservation of

Larned,
*History for
Ready Ref-
erence*, 6:
Peace Con-
ference
(giving
documents
in full)

Meeting of
the Peace
Conference
1899

The three
conven-
tions
signed,
1899

Permanent
court of
arbitration

peace. Nevertheless, the mere existence of this august tribunal has an influence that cultivates and encourages the feeling against war.

Great Britain and Ireland

Such uprooting and new planting of systems and institutions as the Liberal government accomplished in Great Britain and Ireland between 1868 and 1874 could not be carried out without arousing many enmities, and weakening the responsible party, for a time. Warned by plain signs that the country would sustain his radical reform movement no farther, Mr. Gladstone advised the queen to dissolve parliament in 1874 and obtain an expression of the national will. The election went against him, and Disraeli (raised to the peerage soon afterward, as earl of Beaconsfield) returned to power. Then, for six years, the whole tone, temper and principle of the British government was reversed. A rampant policy of imperialism, aggressive, intrusive and pugnacious, carried England to the verge of another war with Russia, in defense of the Turks; led her into a second disastrous invasion of Afghanistan, into dreadful conflicts with the South African Boers and Zulus, and into Egyptian undertakings that resulted in a succession of costly wars. By 1880, when a new parliament was to be elected, the country was weary of this intermeddling "jingoism," with its drum and trumpet displays, and a large Liberal majority gave the government to Gladstone again.

Morley,
*Life of
Gladstone*,
2-3 : bk.
7-10

Second
ministry of
Disraeli
(Beacons-
field),
1874-1880

"Jingo"
policy

Gladstone's
second
ministry,
1880-1886

The state of Ireland had grown worse in the interval. There had not been success in the working of the land bill. Hatred of landlords had become passionate, and a powerful "land league" had been organized, to resist or restrict their control of the soil. At the same time, for political action, a compact party, which demanded "home rule" by a separate legislature for Ireland, had risen among the Irish members of parliament, under a strong leader, Charles Stuart Parnell. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were disposed to resume efforts for the ending of Irish discontent; but they failed to satisfy the party of the "Home Rulers," and a bitter conflict occurred. Mr. Parnell and his party held the balance of power in parliament, and were able to bring all important legislation to a stop for two years. The government was provoked to harsh acts of authority, which excited reckless men to murderous crimes. At last the contending parties in parliament arranged a truce, and the government was enabled to pass some measures of importance, including an act which enlarged the constituency of parliament for the third time, and another which made a new and more equal distribution of parliamentary seats. This third of the great parliamentary reforms added about two millions of votes to the electors of parliament, making the English constitution hardly less democratic than that of the United States. In 1885 the Gladstone ministry, blamed for its failure to rescue General Gordon from a situation in Egypt that will be

Irish "land league"
and "home rule party"

The third reform bill, 1884
Larned,
History for Ready Reference,
2: England, 1884-1885
(Full text)

First Salisbury ministry and third Gladstone ministry, 1885-1886

referred to hereafter, resigned office, in consequence of an adverse vote in parliament, and a Conservative ministry was formed, with the marquis of Salisbury for its chief,—Lord Beaconsfield being dead. But the change was not approved by the country, as shown on the election of a new parliament, and the Liberals resumed office, but only for a brief time.

First Irish home rule bill, 1886

Mr. Gladstone was now persuaded that England must yield to the Irish demand for home rule, and proposed the creation of a separate legislature for that part of the United Kingdom, by a bill which he brought forward in April, 1886. One large section of the Liberal party refused to follow his lead in this matter, and, taking the name of Liberal Unionists, went into coalition with the Conservatives against the bill. Defeated in parliament, Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country and was beaten again; whereupon a coalition ministry of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists was formed, with Lord Salisbury at its head. The period of this ministry was one of continued Irish agitation, but of general peace in the empire, and of some excellent legislation on domestic affairs. An admirable reorganization of local government in England, consolidating and simplifying it under county councils, was effected, and the elementary schools were made entirely free, by an increased public grant, which permitted the abolition of fees. The term of the parliament that supported Lord Salisbury expired in 1892, and the question of home rule for Ireland

Secession from Liberal party

Second Salisbury ministry, 1886-1892

Local government and education acts

became distinctly the issue on which its successor was chosen. In England the majority was heavily against home rule; Scotland and Wales voted favorably, and Ireland, of course, did the same. In the whole House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone found a majority of forty-four to sustain him in passing a second Irish home rule bill, which he brought forward soon after the responsibility of government was intrusted to him for the fourth time. But the strength of English opposition to the measure was fatal to its success. When the Lords took their stand against the bill, by an overwhelming vote, there was no stormy public opinion to compel them to recede, and Mr. Gladstone accepted defeat. In the following spring he resigned, having passed his eighty-fourth year, and in May, 1898, he died.

Fourth
Gladstone
ministry,
1892-1894

Defeat of
second
home rule
bill, 1893

Death of
Gladstone,
May 1898

Nothing but the personal influence of Mr. Gladstone had brought so considerable a section of the Liberal party to the support of his project of home rule for Ireland, and unity in even that section of the party, on this and other questions, was lost when his leadership was withdrawn. For a little more than a year after his retirement the Liberal ministry retained office, with the earl of Rosebery for premier, and carried some important measures through parliament, including an act for the creation of parish councils, elected by universal suffrage, women voting, as well as men. Then, in 1895, it lost its parliamentary majority, by losing the support of the Irish party, and resigned. From that time till the

Rosebery
ministry
1894-1895

Third
Salisbury
ministry
1895-1902

return of the Liberals to power the government was controlled by the coalition of Conservatives with Liberal Unionists, Lord Salisbury holding the premiership till 1902, when he retired.

Pacifying
measures
for Ireland

Without conceding the separate legislature demanded by the Irish "home rulers," but by other measures of conciliation and reform, this ministry brought about, in appearance, at least, more quietude of feeling in Ireland than was ever known before. In 1896 it gave the island a new and more satisfactory land act, and its measures were rounded out in 1898 by a local government act for Ireland, somewhat on the lines of the English act of 1888.

Death of
Queen
Victoria
Jan. 22,
1901

The longest reign in English history, and perhaps the most notable,—when all its happenings and the whole great change that the world underwent within its span are considered,—came to an end on the 22d of January, 1901, when Queen Victoria died, in the eighty-second year of her life and the sixty-fourth year of her rule. She had been a good queen, because a good woman, and there was simple truth in the tribute of her premier, Lord Salisbury, who said to parliament, "she has been a great instance of government by example, by esteem, by love."

The French Republic

President
Mac-
Mahon,
1873-1879

M. Thiers held the presidency of the Third Republic in France until 1873, when the monarchial party gained ascendancy in the assembly and forced him to resign. Marshal MacMahon

was then chosen president, with plans in view for restoring the monarchy, bringing the elder house of Bourbon back to the throne. Nothing but a whimsical obstinacy in the comte de Chambord, the intended king, who forbade the retention of the tricolor as the national flag, saved France from this backward revolution. The attempt gave a fresh stimulation to republicanism, and even the monarchists were impelled to take part in a revision of the constitution on moderate republican lines, in 1875. Both monarchists and Bonapartists lost ground in the subsequent elections, and MacMahon's government became so powerless that he resigned in 1879. His successor was M. Jules Grévy, a moderate republican, who was reëlected at the end of a seven years term, but required to resign in 1887, because of scandalous transactions, traced to a member of his family, which he seemed disposed to cover up. The president next chosen was M. Sadi Carnot, grandson of the famous war minister of the Revolution.

Comte de
Cham-
bord's
whim

President
Grévy,
1879-1887

President
Carnot,
1887-1894

In the period of the presidency of M. Grévy the lust of colonial empire was excited to intensity for a few years, and aggressive wars of conquest in Africa and Asia were set on foot. A French protectorate was imposed on Tunis in 1881. The subjugation of Madagascar, long contemplated, became a distinct undertaking in 1883, and was prosecuted for thirteen years, to its completion in 1896, when the annexation of the island to France was declared in a formal act. An aggres-

Wars of
conquest in
Africa and
Asia,
1881-1896

sive assertion of French pretensions in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, begun in 1884, produced wars with both Annam and China, resulting the next year in the submission of Annam to a protectorate and the cession of Tonking to France. These military and naval undertakings, especially those in south-eastern Asia, cost too much in men and money to be popular very long, and M. Jules Ferry, the minister held chiefly responsible for them, was driven from public life by the feeling that rose against him.

Fall of
Jules
Ferry, 1885

Murder of
President
Carnot,
1894.

President
Casimir-
Périer,
1894-1895

President
Faure,
1895-1899

While visiting the city of Lyons, in the summer of 1894, President Carnot was assassinated by an Italian anarchist, and M. Casimir-Périer, elected to the vacant presidency, found discouragements in the office which impelled him to resign it in the January following. M. Felix Faure, who was then elected, died suddenly in February, 1899, and his successor was M. Emile Loubet.

President
Loubet,
1899-1906

Apparently the republic is settled firmly on foundations that will endure. Within recent times it has passed through two periods of extreme peril, from domestic excitements, generated by corruption and faction, the two deadliest foes with which democracy has to contend. The first had its origin in the great undertaking of the company formed by M. de Lesseps for the construction of the Panama Canal. An immense number of the French people, in every class, had invested their savings in the company, expecting large and sure returns. Hence the failure of the company was a calamity that struck everywhere,

Panama
Canal
failure
1888

almost like a bankruptcy of the nation itself; and when an investigation, begun in 1892, brought startling corruptions, as well as follies and extravagances in the management of the undertaking, to light, the shock to confidence was very great.

France made, however, a good recovery from this blow, only to be smitten quickly by another agitation, so sinister in its causes and so profound in its moral menace that it convulsed the whole world. Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an officer of Jewish family, in the French army, had been convicted by court martial, in 1894, on a charge of betraying military secrets to a foreign power, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. Two years later, facts indicating that Dreyfus was an innocent man, the victim of a foul conspiracy by other officers of the army, began to come to light, and very soon the case appeared as one at issue between Dreyfus and his race, on one side, and the French Army Staff, backed everywhere by mobs of Jew-haters, on the other. As known now, very nearly beyond question, Dreyfus, because a Jew, was chosen by a powerful ring of army officers for deliberate sacrifice, to conceal the crime of another officer; and the whole general staff—the highest officers of the French army—with clear knowledge of the infamous transaction, combined deliberately to sustain it, resisting all investigation of the forgeries and perjuries by which a doom worse than death had been laid on an innocent man. They resisted

The
Dreyfus
affair,
1894-1899

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*,
6 : France

The army
staff con-
spiracy
against
Dreyfus

Anti-Semi-
tism

The new
trial, 1899

with success for nearly three years, appealing, on one hand, to the dread in France of anything calculated to impair the spirit of its army, and to the senseless rancor of French anti-Semitism, on the other. But justice could not be outraged forever. At last the case of Dreyfus was permitted by the government to reach a court which had power to order that it be tried anew. In the new trial by court martial, the defense of the wronged man was hampered in all possible ways, and he was condemned again; but belief in his innocence was so confirmed that the government was driven to set him free. Since that time the factious rages that pursued Dreyfus have been dying out, and he has had a full and fair opportunity to clear his name.

Relations
between
France and
Germany

Much of French feeling in the Dreyfus affair was traceable plainly to a passionate idolizing of the army, as the instrument of a great hoped-for revenge upon Germany; but many signs seem now to show the cooling of that thirst for revenge. The relations between France and Germany are recovering their normal state. The two opposing alliances,—France with Russia, Germany with Austria and Italy,—by which they had severally strengthened themselves, have been losing significance in late years.

That the government of the republic has acquired a strong feeling of security, is shown by its boldness in taking control of all public education, and in regulating religious associations, placing itself in conflict with the clergy and with

powerful orders in the church. Its measures to that end were begun moderately in 1880, but went much farther in 1901, when publicity for everything relating to the constitutions, obligations, purposes, doings, and membership of all classes of associations, religious and otherwise, was required and enforced; while limits to their acquisition of property were fixed. Many teaching institutions that refused submission to the law were closed; and measures adopted since have brought all teaching under public control.

Public
control of
education

Law on as-
sociations,
1901

The German Empire

While the army of the Germans was still besieging Paris, and King William and Prince Bismarck were at Versailles, in January, 1871, the last act which completed the unification and nationalization of Germany was performed. This was the assumption of the title of emperor by King William, in response to the prayer of the princes of Germany and of the North German parliament. On the 16th of the following April, a constitution for the German empire, in place of the constitution of the German Confederation, was proclaimed.

Constitu-
tion of the
empire

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*,
1 : Consti-
tution
(Full text)

The long and extraordinary reign of the emperor William I. was ended by his death in 1888. His son, Frederick III., was dying at the time of an incurable disease, and survived his father only three months. The son of Frederick III., William II., signalized the beginning of his reign by dismissing, after a few months, the great

Frederick
III.,
emperor,
1888

William
II., em-
peror,
1888-

Dismissal
of Bis-
marck,
1890

Imperial
egotism

Effects of
the work of
Bismarck
and
William I.

minister, Count Bismarck, on whom his strong grandfather had leaned, and who had wrought such marvels of statesmanship and diplomacy for the German race. That self-sufficient act furnished a key to the character of this third emperor of the Hohenzollern line. Had he lived in the seventeenth century he could not have had less doubt as to "the divinity that doth hedge a king." The divine ordinance of his own kingship, —the divine inspiration of all wisdom in himself, —the divine command of reverence and obedience to his subjects,—are evidently the fundamentals of his belief. In season and out of season, since he mounted the throne, he has striven to impress them upon the German people, in speeches that sound as if they came from the Versailles of Louis XIV.

The period of his rule has been fortunate in circumstances that gave a prestige to the empire, not proceeding from any statesmanship of his own. He has inherited all the potency of good that was in the great work of Bismarck and his grandfather, when they unified the German states; when they made them one nation, with common interest, a common basis of relations to each other, a common policy in dealing with the outside world, and the possibility of a common code of law. From that has sprung a new Germany, defeudalized, set free from a thousand curbs on its spirit, on its energies, on its growth. Nothing beyond the work that Bismarck and the first William did is needed to explain the wonder-

ful rise of Germany to eminence among the nations since they left the field.

A natural consequence of the paternal pretensions of the government has been the rapid spreading of democratic aspirations among the people, deeply under the influence of socialistic ideas. Each succeeding election shows a marked increase in the total strength of the various political parties which avow democratic principles and aims; and that one among them which gives its members the name of Social Democrats commands a far larger vote than all the rest. Even the paternalism of the government has been forced into lines that accord with the doctrines of socialism, producing a remarkable system of compulsory state insurance for workingmen, applied by successive laws to sickness, in the first instance, then to accidents, and becoming finally a pensioning insurance for permanent invalidity and old age. The insuring funds are collected from employers and employed—one third from the former, two-thirds from the latter—and the administration of them is officially regulated and supervised. The system came partially into operation in 1883, more completely in 1889, and has been extended since. It is said to be working with great success.

Spread of
democratic
and social-
istic ideas

State
insurance
system

* Southeastern Europe

The peace of Europe was again broken when in 1875 a rising against the unendurable misrule of the Turks began in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was imitated the next year in Bulgaria. Servia

Russo-
Turkish
War,
1877-1878

and Montenegro declared war against Turkey and were overcome. Russia then espoused the cause of the struggling Slavs, and opened, in 1877, a most formidable new attempt to crush the Ottoman power, and to accomplish her coveted extension to the Mediterranean. From May until the following January the storm of war raged fiercely along the Balkans. The Turks fought stubbornly, but they were beaten back, and nothing but a dangerous opposition of feeling among the other powers in Europe stayed the hand of the czar from being laid upon Constantinople.

Defeat of
the Turks

Congress of
Berlin,
1878

The powers required a settlement of the peace between Russia and Turkey to be made by a general congress, and it was held at Berlin, in June, 1878. Bulgaria was divided by the congress into two states, one tributary to the Turk, but freely governed, the other subject to Turkey, but under a Christian governor. This arrangement was set aside seven years later by a bloodless revolution, which formed one Bulgaria in nominal relations of dependence upon the Porte. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Austria by the congress of Berlin; the independence of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro was made more complete; the island of Cyprus was turned over to Great Britain for administration.

Recon-
structions

Russia

Liberator, as he was, of more than forty millions of Russian serfs, and inclined to humanity and justice, as other actions of his reign proved

him to be, the czar Alexander II. suffered a fate which the worst of tyrants could hardly be thought to have deserved. Nihilists pursued him with repeated plots against his life, until they accomplished his murder, on the 13th of March, 1881. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander III., during whose reign of thirteen years the bigots of the Russian church and the political reactionists held all power. Jews and Christians outside of the Greek church of Russia were driven into exile by unsparing persecution, and freedom of opinion was suppressed. The czar, whose health was feeble, is supposed to have had little personal knowledge of what was done in his name. In one important matter he made his will felt; for he hated war, and resolutely kept his empire at peace. His son, Nicholas II., who succeeded him in 1894, shares his repugnance to war, and it was he who proposed and brought about the memorable Peace Conference at The Hague, in 1899.

Murder of
Alexander
II., March
13, 1881

Alexander
III., 1881-
1894

Nicholas
II., 1894-

That the present czar is a man of fine feelings and liberal ideas, but weak in will, appears to be certain, from all that can be known of himself, distinguishably from his surroundings in the government; but shameful things have been done since his reign began. Finland, the most enlightened and truly civilized of his dominions, has been robbed of its constitutional rights, and "Russianized" in a thoroughly despotic way. China has been cheated systematically, in dealings that brought Manchuria, at last, under

Treatment
of Finland

Liberal
measures of
the tzar

Russian control. Japan, cheated equally, and endangered by the consequences, has been forced to contest the transaction by war. In Russia itself discontent has been kept alive by many oppressions, and many outbreaks have occurred. On the other hand, the tzar, by his personal command, has relaxed numerous oppressive laws of his predecessors, giving important relief to the Jews, to unorthodox Christians, to the Polish press, to the students of the universities, taking pains to investigate the grievances of the latter and to place the ministry of education in proper hands.

Central
Asian con-
quests,
1869-1881

A new movement of Russian conquest in Central Asia was begun in 1869, when formal possession was taken of the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea. The fierce nomads of the region between the Caspian and the Oxus, on which river the posts of the Russian advance from the north had been planted, were then attacked from the west, and their subjugation was a task that employed some of the ablest of Russian officers for a dozen years. Practically it was finished by the siege and capture of Geok Tepe, accomplished with horrible carnage in 1881. This broke the power of the Tekke Turkomans, who had fought with obstinate courage to the last. Meantime the khanate of Khiva had succumbed to the Russians on the Oxus, and the tzar became master of all Central Asia west of the Chinese empire, his realm touching the frontiers of Persia and Afghanistan. This approach to the borders of

Geok Tepe,
1881

British India roused jealousy and apprehension in England, and has given rise to much nervous diplomacy in recent years.

Russian
approach
to British
India

The Russian development of Siberia has made immense strides since the undertaking, in 1891, of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which crosses the entire continent of Asia, from the railway system of European Russia to the Pacific, at Port Arthur and Vladivostok,—a distance exceeding 6,000 miles. This enterprise is connected very closely with the designs that Russia has pursued on the Pacific coast, and which later involved her in a desperate war with Japan.

Trans-
Siberian
railway

Japan, China, Korea, and the Russians in Eastern Asia

The extremity of the Korean peninsula is thrust so near to Japan that its nominal vassalage to China was always something for the island empire to fear. In 1876 the Japanese obtained a treaty from the Koreans which declared the independence of the latter, and China made no demur. Thereafter Japan denied that the Peking government had rights in the peninsula superior to its own; and its view was confirmed apparently, in 1885, by an agreement between the two empires, that neither, without notice to the other, should send forces to Korea, for dealing with the frequent disorders there. An occasion for intervention by one or both arose in 1894, and the Korean king then called upon the emperor of China, as a vassal calling upon his suzerain, for help. Japan, with promptitude, met this implied

Relations
of Korea to
China and
Japan

War
between
Japan and
China,
1894-1895

Treaty of
Shimonoseki, April
17, 1895

Larned,
*History for
Ready Reference*, 6 :
China (full
text)

resumption of the old dependency by pouring troops into Korea and taking its government in hand. War followed, and the Chinese were completely overpowered. Their navy was half destroyed in battle, and the remainder captured in the harbor of Wei-hai-wei. Their army was beaten in every engagement; their strongest fortress, Port Arthur, was taken, and nothing seemed likely to prevent the advance of the Japanese to Peking itself. At the end of the war of eight months and a half, China obtained peace by a treaty which recognized the independence of Korea, ceded to Japan most of the contiguous Liao-tung peninsula, as well as Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, and promised a heavy war indemnity.

Immediately on the announcement of these terms, Russia, Germany and France interfered, to prevent the cession of the Liao-tung peninsula (which includes Port Arthur), on the ground that it "would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient;" and Japan was compelled by their threatening attitude to give back that most important part of the conquest she had made. The dishonesty of the pretense on which this meddling action of the three European powers was taken appeared the next year, when a secret treaty of China with Russia became known, promising to Russia a lease of Port Arthur, and other "special privileges," "as a response," said the document, "to the loyal aid given by Russia in the retrocession of Liao-tung." Two years

Interference of
Russia,
Germany
and France

later the promise was fulfilled, and Port Arthur was transferred to Russia, for conversion into a stronghold,—the main terminus of her Trans-Siberian Railway,—the obvious pivot of designs that were “detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient,” and threatening equally to the future of China and Japan.

Lease of
Port
Arthur
to Russia,
March,
1898

But this evidence of the duplicity and dishonesty of the treatment of Japan by the three interfering powers was not left alone. In November, 1897, Germany seized the port of Kiao-Chau, demanding and securing it, with a large surrounding area, on a ninety-nine years lease, by way of indemnity for the murder of two German missionaries that year. Subsequently, Great Britain, not to be placed at a disadvantage on the North China coast, insisted upon the leasing of Wei-hai-wei to herself, on the Port Arthur terms. Other extortions of less seriousness followed; and then a fierce scramble began for “concessions,”—to build railways, to work mines, to navigate streams, to do this and that which the Chinese did not want to have done. The only great power that took no part in what seemed to be first moves in the partitioning of China was the United States, which simply made use of the situation to secure from all the powers concerned a pledge of commercial equality, or the policy called that of “the open door.”

Seizure of
Kiao-Chau
by Ger-
many, 1897

Lease of
Wei-hai-
wei to
Great
Britain,
1898

“Conces-
sions”

The “open
door”
secured by
the United
States,
1900

Insulted, outraged, by such treatment and such discussion of themselves, who can wonder that the Chinese went mad with a raging hatred

The
"Boxer"
outbreak
in China

Siege and
rescue of
legations
at Peking,
June-Aug.,
1900

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*,
6: China

Russia in
Manchuria

of these bullying intruders from the other side of the world? Who can wonder at the happenings of 1900?—the "Boxer" outbreak of the lower classes; the violences of murder, riot and insurrection; the more than half sympathy of the government with the feeling and action of its subjects, and its powerlessness, moreover, to control outbursts which came from a desperate passion in the national heart? All the barbarities committed by Chinese upon foreigners, including the siege of the legations at Peking, appear to have been equaled fully by some parts of the allied forces that marched from Tien-tsin to the Chinese capital, in wanton massacres and brutalities on the way, and in some of their doings while Peking was in their hands.

Probably nothing but the impossibility of agreement concerning shares prevented an attempted beginning of the partition of the empire then and there. As it was, one power made sure, or intended to make sure, of the great province that it coveted for the completion of its designs in the east. Russia had filled Manchuria with troops, and she kept them there, on the pretense of necessity, to preserve order, and to protect the Port Arthur connection of her Trans-Siberian Railway, protesting always her intention to withdraw, yet secretly working always to wring from China such a treaty as would give her practical possession of Manchuria, to the exclusion of other powers. More than any other power, except China, Japan had reason to prevent

the accomplishment of these Russian designs, if she could; and Japan appears to have proved that she could.

After the revolution of 1868, in Japan, there was a struggle between progressive and conservative parties, which resulted in the defeat of the latter, and the directing of the empire into the path of a remarkable new career. Within a single generation it has been modernized beyond all example, in political institutions, in educational aims, in industrial and commercial methods and in many social conditions. Its government has been a constitutional one, and its law-making the work of a parliament which represents the people, since 1889. Japan has assimilated the science of the western nations and made use of their inventions with a rapidity and a completeness that have astonished the world. How effectively she had done so in naval and military matters was shown when she came to conflict with China, in the war of 1894-5, described above. Cheated then of what she deemed the just fruits of her victory by Russian interference, helped by Germany and France, Japan, from that day, applied her energies and the rare intelligence of her people to extraordinary preparations for war. She intended to beat back the Russians from their threatened domination of the neighboring coast, and of the narrow waters on which her security depends.

Japan after the mikado restoration, 1868-1905

The written constitution of the empire

Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, I : Constitution (Full text)

Japanese preparations for war

Egypt and the Sudan

The extravagance of the khedive and the cor-

Milner,
*England in
Egypt*

The
khedive
and his
creditors,
1875

Foreign
control of
Egyptian
finances,
1877

1879

Arabi's
revolt,
1881

British sup-
pression of
the revolt,
1882

British
domination
in Egypt

ruptness of his service brought him to a pass, in 1875, where he could no longer pay the heavy interests on his debts. This made quick trouble with his foreign creditors, and both England and France intervened in their behalf. The two powers forced him to place Egyptian finances under the control of an Englishman and a Frenchman, who proceeded to order economies and exercise an authority that angered the Egyptians and roused them to resist. A national party came into existence, which frightened the khedive into dismissing his foreign financial ministers; and this brought England and France into action again. On their demand, the Turkish sultan deposed the khedive (Ismail), and gave the throne to Tewfik, his son. Tewfik submitted Egyptian finances again to foreign control, and again the national party rose up to resist, headed this time by an energetic colonel, Ahmed Arabi, who led it into armed revolt. As the sultan could not be moved to undertake the suppression of the revolt, England took the task in hand, alone. Her fleet bombarded Alexandria, where a dreadful massacre of Europeans had occurred; British forces landed, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, and shattered the army of Arabi in a single battle, fought at Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi, who surrendered himself at Cairo a few days later, was sent to exile in Ceylon. England had won the dictatorial rights in Egypt that she has exercised ever since, simply because she acted, while France and the other powers of Europe looked on. The khedival

government is maintained, but under British control.

While these events were in progress, the Egyptian Sudan had become fearfully disturbed by the appearance of an ambitious dervish, who proclaimed himself to be the "Mahdi"—a supreme prophet and redeemer of Islam, long foretold. Sir Samuel Baker's operations in that region had been followed by a more thorough subjugation of the tribes, accomplished by Colonel Gordon—the "Chinese" Gordon of previous fame—who served the khedive as governor-general of the Sudan from 1874 to 1879. After Gordon's departure the weakness of Egyptian administration in the province was soon felt, and the Mahdi, rising to influence in 1881, became practically the master of the country within the next two years. Failing to realize his power, the British government, in 1883, sent Hicks Pasha against him, with an army, mainly Egyptian, of 11,000 men, every one of whom was destroyed. Not a man came back. The abandonment of the Sudan was then decided upon, and Gordon was persuaded to undertake the extrication of the scattered Egyptian garrisons in the country. He went to Khartoum in February, and before many weeks it was known that the forces of the Mahdi had beleaguered him there. An expedition, under General (Lord) Wolseley, was sent to his rescue; but the British government was slow in its action, and the rescuers, toiling and fighting their way to Khartoum, reached it, on the 28th of January,

The
"Mahdi"
in the
Sudan,
1881-1885

Colonel
Gordon's
governor-
ship, 1874-
1879

Fate of
Hicks
Pasha and
his army,
1883

Gordon be-
leaguered at
Khartoum,
1884-1885

1885, just two days too late. The town had been betrayed to the enemy on the 26th, and Gordon His fate had been slain.

The Mahdi died in the following June, and the dervish power he had established passed to one of his khalifas, or commanders, unresisted by British or Egyptians for the next ten years, so far as concerned the Sudan. But the Abyssinians had to fight the khalifa, and suffered defeat in a battle in which John, their king, was killed. Flushed with this victory, the dervishes began to advance down the Nile, into the Nubian district, till checked by British and Egyptian forces at Toski. This quieted them for a time, which ended in 1896. Italy, meantime, claiming a protectorate over Abyssinia, founded on an ambiguous phrase in a commercial treaty, and becoming involved in a disastrous war with Menelek, the successor in that country to King John, had also come into collision with the dervishes, and was being sorely pressed. There were signs that the khalifa would soon be threatening Egypt again, and a determination to expel him from the Sudan was reached in the spring of 1896. A fine Egyptian army had been created by this time, with an able British officer, Sir Herbert Kitchener, as its sirdar, or general-in-chief. The undertaking was difficult, and taxed all the energies of commander and men, during more than two years. In two desperate battles, on the Atbara and at Omdurman, and in many minor engagements, the dervish forces were almost destroyed, and the

Death of
the Mahdi,
1885

The
khalifa
Aug., 1889

Italy in
Abyssinia,
1895-1896

Egyptian
re-conquest
of the
Sudan,
1896-1899

conquest of the Sudan was made complete in 1899, when the khalifa fell in a final fight.

The partitioning of Africa

Between 1874 and 1877, Henry M. Stanley, employed by an enterprising newspaper at New York, crossed equatorial Africa, from Zanzibar to the western coast, following the Congo to its mouth, and making known the importance of the immense valley that it drains. This awakened in King Leopold, of Belgium, an ambition to undertake the development of the region, and may be regarded as the starting point of movements which led, in the next few years, to the occupation or preëmption, so to speak, of nearly all parts of the great African continent by the leading European powers. Leopold led the movement by organizing an International Congo Association, which engaged Stanley to establish posts in the Congo territory and to make treaties with the multitude of its native tribes. Thus possession was taken of the country, nominally for an "international association," but practically for the Belgian king. He secured recognition of the rights of his association from every important power, and his action was followed by an important conference of national representatives at Berlin, to discuss the partition of Africa, arrive at agreements concerning it, establish a free trade zone in the Congo basin, and formally sanction the Congo Association. In the following summer

Stanley's
exploration
of the
Congo,
1874-1877

King
Leopold
and the
Congo
Associa-
tion, 1879

The Berlin
conference,
1884-1885

The Congo
Free State

the association was transformed by name into the Congo Free State.

1876-1880

1880

1883

The eager
scramble,
1884-1890

German
acqui-
sitions

British

Prior to the Berlin Conference, an active beginning had been made in the partitioning of the African continent. Portugal added nothing substantial to her ancient colonies and claims on both coasts; but Great Britain already had accomplished several annexations to her South African dominion, and a British company was winning a foothold on the Niger. France was pushing southward into the Sahara, from Algeria and Tunis; was rapidly widening the domain of an old French colony on the Senegal, and had pursued explorations which gave her claims to a large region north and west of the lower Congo. Italy had started her colony, Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and Germany had laid her hands on a bit of Great Namaqualand, in the southwest. But now, in 1884, the scramble for African territory became like a rush in western America for newly opened lands. Between that year and 1890 Germany stretched her southwestern seizure from British bounds on the south to the Portuguese line on the north; established claims on the east coast, from the ocean to Lake Tanganyika, and on the west coast, in Togoland and in the Kamerun country, by treaty with native chiefs. Great Britain, in the same period, expanded her claims in the Niger region, advanced her protectorate or her "sphere of influence" in South Africa northward, between the Portuguese territories, east and west, up to the southern limits of

German East Africa and the Congo Free State; also in eastern equatorial Africa, north of German East Africa, to Abyssinia, and from the coast to Lake Albert Nyanza and the Nile. Subsequently, in conjunction with Egypt, this sphere of British protection became coterminous with an Anglo-Egyptian condominium established over a wide belt of the Sudan, on both sides of the Nile, to Khartoum. In addition, Great Britain shares the Somali coast with an Italian protectorate, established in 1889-90.

Anglo-Egyptian condominium

Conflict of Boers and Britons in South Africa

The British expansion in South Africa was chiefly the work of one ambitious and able man, Cecil Rhodes, who acted through the agency of the British South Africa Company, chartered in 1889. The undertakings of the South Africa Company conflicted with projects of expansion entertained by the Boers of the Transvaal Republic, and that conflict was at the back of other causes in producing the war that opened in 1899.

Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, 6 : South Africa

Doyle, *The Great Boer War*

Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company

The Transvaal republic

Attempted British annexation, 1877

Majuba Hill, Feb., 1881

For many years after settling in the Transvaal, the Boers had suffered many hardships and done much fighting with the natives, till a few among them, in 1877, were so far disheartened that they gave encouragement to an attempt on the part of a British official to annex the Transvaal to the dominions of the queen. The majority, after vain protests, rose in arms, and defeated British forces in several battles, especially with fearful slaughter at Majuba Hill. Mr. Gladstone, who

Restored
independ-
ence

Discovery
of gold,
1884

"Outland-
ers" and
Boers

The Jame-
son raid,
1895

had then come into power in England, believed them to have been wronged, and made peace with them, on terms which reestablished their independence, except in foreign affairs, which Great Britain, as a suzerain, might control. This was disappointing to the British in South Africa, who hoped for a strong confederation of African colonies, while it encouraged the aspirations of the Dutch inhabitants, who outnumbered the British colonists as a whole, and who expected to be the dominant race. The resulting growth of antagonistic feelings was quickened by the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand (White Waters Ridge) of the Transvaal. This drew large numbers of foreigners into the Boer country, and built up, at Johannesburg, the largest of South African cities. The Boers were suspicious and jealous of the "outlanders," as they called them; afraid to give them political rights, even for the regulation of affairs in their own municipality of Johannesburg; and the British government was drawn, presently, into disputes between the government of the republic and the outlanders subject to it in the rand. It cannot be doubted that more or less stimulation of such disputes came from the influence of the South African Company and Mr. Rhodes. Some of the servants of the company (whether with or without the privity of its chiefs has never been made clear) did, in fact, conspire at last to assist a rebellion of the outlanders, and invaded the Transvaal with 500 armed men, whom the Boers brought to a

stand, disarmed and made captive with remarkable speed.

From that time the Boer government made defensive preparations, applying large revenues derived from a taxation of mines and miners to the purchase of arms, but making no concession to the persistent demand of the outlanders for political rights. In 1899, the British government began to back those demands in a somewhat threatening tone, and was met with an ultimatum so peremptory as to be equivalent to a declaration of war. The Boers were better prepared than the British at the beginning, and the whole strength of their nation went into the ensuing fight, which lasted two years and a half, and which taxed the military power of Great Britain more severely than it was ever taxed before. From first to last she was compelled to bring nearly 450,000 men of all arms against the 60,000 or 70,000 fighting force of the Boers. After both their capitals had been taken (for the Orange Free State had made common cause with the Transvaal) and President Kruger of the Transvaal had been driven to Europe, the indomitable Dutch farmers fought still in guerrilla bands, till the end of May, 1902. They yielded then to the inevitable, submitting to the loss of their national independence, accepting for both of their former republics the temporary status of British crown colonies (having no representative legislatures), but having the assurance of representative institutions and self-government in due time.

Outbreak
of war,
Oct., 1899

Obstinacy
of the
struggle

End and
result of
the war,
May, 1902

The United States of America

A disputed
presidential
election,
1876

Stanwood,
*History of
Presiden-
tial Elec-
tions*,
ch. xxiv

The
electoral
commission

Its deci-
sions

The centennial anniversary of American independence, celebrated in 1876 by the holding, at Philadelphia, of an international exposition of industries and arts, was marked more unhappily by a presidential election over which a very angry and dangerous dispute arose. Most of the causes of dispute had their origin in the disordered condition of the southern States. Contesting returns of the election, made by rival authorities, were sent to congress from South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida and Oregon. No rule for dealing with such contests, in the counting of electoral votes, had been prescribed in the constitution or by any legislation, and the open question of procedure in the matter was made more serious by the fact that one political party controlled the senate and the other was dominant in the lower house. The very gravity of the situation compelled the leaders of both parties to come to an agreement before the day of the counting arrived. They sanctioned the creation of an electoral commission of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the supreme court, to which all the disputed returns should be referred. The count was conducted accordingly, and General Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, was declared elected by a majority of one electoral vote over Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic nominee. The unfortunate fact that every question referred to the electoral commission was decided by a partisan vote, of eight Republicans

against seven Democrats, cast a doubt on the impartiality of the judgment, and left bitter feelings behind; but the decision was accepted so quietly that the self-restraint of the American democracy never had a finer proof.

The administration of President Hayes marks the opening of an epoch of recovery from the derangements of the civil war. Most of the federal forces were withdrawn from the southern States, and the contest of race and faction in them were left, to a large extent, for settlement by their own legislatures and courts. The result was a speedy restoration of the white inhabitants to political control. Practically, the political franchises that were conferred on the emancipated slaves by the reconstruction acts and constitutional amendments were annulled, by methods of intimidation at first, and, finally, by ingenious contrivances of law. Practically, too, the northern people, who exacted the bestowal of those franchises on the liberated race, have acquiesced in the purloining of them, though not without some protestation and some wish to interfere. An experiment of ten years in the employment of federal authority and military force, to uphold the weaker race against the stronger in eleven States of the Union, had encouraged little hope of good to either race from persistence on that line; and public opinion seems to have settled slowly to the conclusion that "the duty of the nation to the emancipated people must be performed in some other way. Education, industrial

President
Hayes,
1877-1881

Practical
negation of
the recon-
struction
acts

Northern
acquies-
cence

Duty to
the eman-
cipated
people

Larned,
*History of
the U. S.,*
576

training, encouragement to thrift, widening of opportunities, promotion of common interests and friendly relations between whites and blacks, have appeared to be the most promising means for slowly bettering or curing the unhappy conditions of society which slavery brought about."

Money
questions
in politics

Taussig,
*The Silver
Situation in
the U. S.*

The indefinite
"dollar"

As reconstruction issues dropped into the background of politics, there were economic questions waiting for consideration and pressed urgently by the circumstances of the time. Since December, 1861, there had been no monetary circulation of gold and silver coin in the United States. The "greenback" legal tender notes of the government, made money by force of law, but with nothing to define the "dollars" that were promised in them (since they were redeemable in nothing of defined value), had driven all defined money out of use. For seventeen years, gold, whether coined or uncoined, had been only a commodity of the market, bought and sold for greenbacks, at prices always fluctuating,—rising to its highest point in July, 1864, when the greenback "dollar," so-called, would buy but thirty-five cents worth of gold. During those years the American people had become so habituated to the fluctuating prices and the business gambling which such money produced, that many were opposed to any revival of the use of coined money as a medium of exchange. These became united in what received the name of the "Greenback party," and were a political force of importance for some years. Against their opposition, con-

The
"Green-
back
party"

gress passed an act in 1875, providing for the resumption of specie payments by the government on the 1st of January, 1879; and such resumption was accomplished at the appointed time.

Resump-
tion of
specie
payments,
Jan. 1,
1879

The ideas of money that were represented in the Greenback party took a new direction at about this time, caused by the fall of value in silver, compared with gold. Formerly, the relative decline in value, as between the two metals, had been on the side of gold; and silver, for some years, became too high in market price for coining, at the coinage ratio of sixteen to one in weight. There being no demand for silver dollars, congress dropped them from the coinage act of 1873, and no opposition was heard. But an extraordinary increase of production in silver mining occurred soon after, which so cheapened that metal that silver dollars, if reinstated in free coinage at the old ratio, would be worth considerably less than dollars defined in gold. This recommended them to the opponents of the gold standard of value, who thought that the higher but more stable prices which that standard maintains were, in some way, beneficial to capitalists, but injurious to the people at large. This view, which history and all experience condemns, won acceptance from large bodies of people, and demands for a revival of the free coinage of legal-tender silver dollars, at the old ratio of sixteen to one, increased in pressure as the market value of silver went down. Naturally

Declining
value of
silver

The act of
1873

The "six-
teen to
one"
demand

The Bland
Silver Bill,
1878

these demands were supported by the silver-mining interests of the Rocky Mountain States. A powerful party was thus formed, which, in 1878, carried an act through congress, over the veto of the president, not establishing free coinage of silver, but requiring the government to purchase, every month, not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, and to coin it into silver dollars, containing $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver in each. The act also authorized an issue of silver certificates on deposits of silver dollars in the treasury, thus creating a paper currency redeemable in that silver coin.

Result of
the Bland
act

This remarkable measure, kept in force for twelve years, did not, as expected, arrest the decline of silver in market price, or produce the heightening of general prices which its supporters desired. No other country could be persuaded to follow the example of the United States and join them in attempting to restore silver to monetary use, except for purposes of "small change." The single, gold standard became more and more confirmed in acceptance by the world. The United States were forced to conform to it, in their transactions with the rest of mankind. Their government, to preserve its credit in the world at large, and not become a bankrupt government, was compelled to keep its silver coin, its silver certificates, and its greenback notes up to the gold standard, by keeping them exchangeable for gold. So the costly experiment of the "Bland Silver

Compul-
sory
adhesion to
the gold
standard

Bill" accomplished nothing except the marketing of some hundreds of millions of silver bullion for the mine-owners, at the expense of the people of the United States.

The presidential election of 1880 gave rise to a factious quarrel in the successful Republican party, with a dreadful tragedy at the end. General Garfield, the chosen president, made appointments that offended certain arrogant party leaders and opened a shameful feud. The feeling stirred up worked on one weak-minded creature in the office-hunting swarm at Washington till he waylaid and shot the president, inflicting a mortal wound. The shock of this murder roused the country to a realization of the malignancy of the "spoils system" in party politics, and set on foot a resolute movement of reform, led eloquently and untiringly by George William Curtis, as president of a strong National Civil Service Reform League. The first efficient law to establish a merit system of appointment in the national civil service (the Pendleton Act) was passed by congress in 1883, and administered with faithfulness by President Chester A. Arthur, who, from vice-president, became president when General Garfield died. From that beginning great progress has been made since, toward the redemption of the whole civil service of the country, federal, State and municipal; but much remains still to be done.

Murder of
President
Garfield,
July 2, 1881

Civil
service
reform

President
Arthur,
1881-1885

For the first time in twenty-four years, a change of party in the administration of the government

President -
Cleveland,
1885-1889

His per-
sonal inde-
pendence

The tariff
message of
President
Cleveland,
1887

was brought about by the presidential election of 1884. The Democrats seated their candidate, Grover Cleveland, who was called to the higher office from being governor of New York. The administration of President Cleveland was marked by a degree of personal independence in the executive which alienated many of the politicians of his party, but won the confidence and appealed to the admiration of the people at large. Considering the fact that his party had been excluded from federal offices for almost a generation, he used his power of so-called "patronage" with remarkable moderation, and deserves high credit for the firmness with which he upheld the general principles of civil service reform. The political courage and independence of the president were displayed still more emphatically in his annual message of 1887. Devoting the entire message to the subject of the protective tariff, he directed attention to the dangerous surplus which duties in excess of the needs of revenue for the government were heaping up in the treasury, and the consequent drain of money from business uses. In the face of the popularity which the protective system of import duties had acquired, this was a bold attack. Practically, in late years, the Democratic party had been yielding tacit consent to the extreme protective policy of the party in power. It was unprepared for the summons of its elected chief, recalling it to the principles of its early faith; but it answered the call, and the tariff question was

made a leading issue in politics once more. A bill for moderating duties on imports was passed by the Democratic majority in the house of representatives, but defeated in the Republican senate; and so the issue went to the people in the presidential election of next year. Important measures of President Cleveland's term were the repeal of the "tenure-of-office act" (passed in 1867 to tie President Johnson's hands), an enactment regulating the count of electoral votes (to prevent troubles like those of 1876), and the act which created the "interstate commerce commission," in 1887.

The tariff question in politics

Important measures

As an expression of popular judgment on the tariff question, the election of 1888 was indecisive; for Mr. Cleveland (renominated by his party), while he failed of reëlection, received about one hundred thousand more votes at the polls than his Republican opponent, Mr. Benjamin Harrison; but the latter carried more States and won a majority of the electoral votes. The Republicans regained not only the presidency, but full control of congress, in both houses, and were reinforced in the senate during the next two years by the admission of six new States, from the far northwest. In their view, the protective tariff policy had received popular indorsement, and they proceeded at once to raise the rates of duty to a higher scale, by an act known as the McKinley Tariff Act, from the name of the chairman of the committee that reported it to the house of representatives and carried it through.

President Benjamin Harrison, 1889-1893

The McKinley Tariff Act, 1890

The Sher-
man Silver
Act, 1890

The work-
ing of the
act

Threatened
national
bankruptcy

The
People's or
Populist
party

The same congress dealt anew with the silver question, in what is referred to as the Sherman Act, which repealed the Bland Silver Act of 1878, but only to give further satisfaction to the demand for more silver in monetary use. It did so by requiring the secretary of the treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion every month at its market price, and to issue treasury notes in payment, which should be redeemable in either gold or silver, at his discretion, and be legal tender for all debts. The working of this law produced alarming financial conditions, in the course of the next three years. Silver continued to fall in market value, and the government had to satisfy increasing demands for gold, to be hoarded or to be sent abroad, where silver had no monetary use. The national credit depended upon a continued redemption of its greenbacks and its silver certificates in gold; and it had no authority to retire them when once redeemed. It must continually reissue them, and continually give gold for them when they came back with a demand for it. That the exhausting process must end in national bankruptcy seemed plain enough; and yet remedial measures were resisted in congress, with success.

The crisis of the situation was approaching when another presidential election arrived, in 1892. The silver money doctrines were now embodied specially in a new political party, called the People's or Populist party; but many Democrats and many Republicans were regarding

those doctrines with very hesitating minds, and no positive opposition to them by any party was yet declared. President Harrison and ex-President Cleveland were rival candidates again, and the latter was elected by a plurality of nearly 400,000 votes. More than a million votes were cast for the Populist nominee.

Presiden-
tial elec-
tion, 1892

In the last weeks of his term President Harrison gave countenance to a revolution in the Hawaiian Islands, contrived and carried out by foreign residents mostly, with an appearance of help from the American minister and from an American ship of war. A treaty of annexation to the United States, negotiated with the revolutionists, was pending in the senate when Mr. Cleveland took the place of Mr. Harrison in the executive seat. He withdrew the treaty at once, condemning the whole proceeding in strong terms.

Hawaiian
revolution
and treaty
of annexa-
tion,
1892-1893

President
Cleveland,
1893-1897

Mr. Cleveland came back to the presidency just in time to bear the brunt of the effects of the silver legislation, under the strain of which the whole financial system of the country was breaking down. In August he called a special session of congress and appealed to it for measures of release and relief. The house would do no more than pass a bill to repeal the silver-purchasing requirements of the Sherman Act, and the senate refused even that for two months, till the rising alarm and anger of the business interests of the country compelled it to yield. This removed the most pressing dangers of the situation; but the

Financial
stress

Partial
repeal
of the
Sherman
Act, Oct.
1893

monetary system of the country was left in a precarious state.

The Wilson
Tariff Act,
1894

In undertaking a revision of the tariff, and the revenue system generally, congress did no better. The house passed a bill reducing rates of duty, which the senate reconstructed, so flagrantly under the influence of certain great protected interests that President Cleveland would not sign the act when passed, though he allowed it to become law. An income tax, included in the revenue act, was made inoperative by the supreme court, which adjudged it to be unconstitutional and void.

Venezuela
dispute
with Great
Britain,
1895

Sequent to a sharp controversy with the British government, in 1895, over the refusal of the latter to arbitrate a question of boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, the president asked congress for authority to appoint a commission for ascertaining the true boundary, in order to determine the future action of the United States. This bore an air of menace that was startling to both countries; but the natural relations of fraternity between them had become too well settled to be disturbed in more than a passing way. The result of the incident was not only an agreement for the arbitration of the Venezuela question, but the negotiation of a general treaty for the peaceful settlement by arbitration of future questions between Great Britain and the United States. This happy outcome was hailed with general joy; but a malignant faction in the senate was able to prevent the

ratification of the treaty by the needed two-thirds vote.

The presidential canvass and election of 1896 was one of more serious excitement than the country had known since the election that preceded the civil war. A large body of the American people had come to believe that a free, unlimited coinage of legal tender silver money, with the weight of silver in the silver dollar proportioned to the weight of gold in a gold dollar in the old ratio of sixteen to one (notwithstanding the lowered value of silver), would give prosperity and plenty to everybody, and overthrow what they looked upon as a tyrannical money power. Another large body believed that what these silver advocates wished to do meant bankruptcy to government and people. The silver men won control of the Democratic national convention, held at Chicago, and nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for president. The nomination of Mr. Bryan was indorsed by the Populists, and by a body of Republicans organized as a National Silver party. It was repudiated by many Democrats, who held another convention and nominated General John M. Palmer, of Illinois. The controlling majority of the Republican party, in its national convention at St. Louis, declared itself "opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world;" and it nominated William McKinley for president. There was never before such debating by a

Rejected
Anglo-
American
treaty of
arbitration,
1897

The silver
question in
the presi-
dential
election
of 1896

The
nominees

The campaign of education

whole nation—such a campaign of education,” as it was styled,—as that which ensued. The decision of the people was against the silver theory. Mr. McKinley was elected by a majority of about 600,000 over Bryan, and by 300,000 over all opposing nominees.

Establishment of the gold standard of value 1900

Notwithstanding the victory for the gold standard, nearly four years went by before legislation was obtained from congress to make it good. Meantime, futile efforts were made to persuade the leading nations of Europe to join the United States in restoring silver to use as a monetary standard, in conjunction with gold. At last, by enactment in 1900, the standard “dollar”—the sole unit of value in the United States—was defined to be a coin containing 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine; and all “dollars” represented in other forms, in silver coins or on paper, must be kept to equivalence with that gold dollar by being exchangeable for it.

The Dingley Tariff Act, 1897

The new triumph of the Republican party was celebrated more promptly by the repeal of the revised tariff act of 1894, and the restoration of protective duties, more extreme than the highest ever levied before.

Excitement of imperialistic ambitions

And now came the memorable first surrenders of the American people to those seductive ambitions, for colonial empire and for playing a part in the affairs of the older world, which the solemn warnings of the wise fathers of the republic had kept in repression for a hundred years. Signs of the wakening passion appeared in the attempt on

the Hawaiian Islands, in 1893. Checked then by President Cleveland, but kindled newly by excitements of war in 1898, it broke from restraint, and, after accomplishing the Hawaiian annexation, as a petty prelude, drove the nation on to a great harvesting of exterior dominion by the sharp reaping of the sword.

Annexation
of the
Hawaiian
Islands,
1898

Oppressive government of Cuba and cruelty in the suppression of a Cuban revolt provoked the intervention of the United States and led to a war with Spain, opened on the 21st of April, 1898. In two naval battles, fought in Manila Bay, on the 1st of May, and on the Cuban coast, near Santiago de Cuba, on the 3d of July, the two principal Spanish fleets were destroyed, by Admiral Dewey, in the first instance, and by Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley in the last. After sharp battles fought at San Juan Hill and El Caney, near Santiago de Cuba, on the 1st and 2d of July, that city, and the Spanish forces defending eastern Cuba, were surrendered on the 17th to General Shafter, commanding an expedition from the United States. On the 13th of August the city of Manila, capital of the Philippine Islands, was surrendered to another American army, after a siege in which insurgent natives of the islands took part, with the belief that they were assisting to free their country from foreign rule. Meantime, possession of the island of Guam, in the Ladrões or Marianas, and of the large island of Porto Rico, in the West Indies, was taken by other American forces. Dis-

War with
Spain for
the deliver-
ance of
Cuba, 1898

Naval and
military
successes

Siege and
capture of
Manila

Peace, Dec.
10, 1898

Acquisition
of the
Philippine
Islands and
Porto Rico

Declara-
tion con-
cerning
Cuba

The republic
of Cuba,
1902

heartened by these reverses, Spain made overtures which brought about a suspension of hostilities on the 12th of August, and the negotiation, at Paris, of a treaty of peace, concluded in the following December. The vanquished nation, submitting to terms imposed by the victors, ceded Porto Rico and Guam, sold the Philippine Islands for \$20,000,000, and relinquished all claims of sovereignty over Cuba.

Concerning Cuba, the government of the United States had declared at the beginning of the war, by resolution of congress, that it had no "disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof," and asserted "its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people." This pledge was fulfilled, with certain reservations, supposed to be consistent with its terms. After nearly four years of a military occupation of the island, during which the Cubans had framed and adopted a republican constitution and become organized for self-government, the officials and troops of the United States were withdrawn (May 20, 1902) and the independent republic of Cuba was recognized in due form, but subject to conditions which it showed some reluctance to accept. These restricted its freedom in matters relating to treaties with foreign powers and to the contraction of public debts, besides conceding to the United States very large and indefinite rights of intervention, "for the preser-

vation of Cuban independence" and for "the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." The republic of Cuba, in fact, is placed under the protectorate control of the United States.

Protectorate
rights of
the United
States

Had a similar relation to the Philippine Islands been contemplated and foreshadowed at the time they were taken over from Spain, it is unlikely that the acquisition would have been opposed, in the United States or by the Filipinos themselves. But no such prospect was held out, and the half conquest, half purchase of the great archipelago, to be held and ruled without consent of its people, gave a startling shock to American traditions and democratic beliefs. It became still more shocking when the people thus dealt with resisted the transfer from one foreign sovereignty to another, and a war of subjugation was required, to make them submissive to the new rule. But the lust of dominion had overcome principle and reverent tradition in the American States, for a time at least, and so far that the revolting Filipinos were beaten to submission, in a war prosecuted with vigor for more than two years, by an army of some 50,000 soldiers of the republic of the United States. The government thus forced upon them has been, without doubt, a better government than they ever experienced before, and is doing many things for their good; but it is a government that did not derive "just powers from the consent of the governed;" and so, unless the

Revolt
in the
Philippine
Islands,
Feb., 1899-
April, 1901

Subjugation of the
Filipinos

theory of American democracy is fundamentally false, it stands condemned.

President McKinley, reëlected in 1900,—again on the silver issue, represented again by Mr. Bryan, as the Democratic nominee,—lived through only six months of his second term. While receiving a throng of people at an exposition in Buffalo he was shot by a Polish anarchist, for no reason but the fact that he represented authority and law. Theodore Roosevelt, vice-president, then became president, bringing to the office a marked resoluteness and energy of character and will. The most notable achievements of his administration were in promotion of the project of an interoceanic canal. Former hindrances to the undertaking were cleared away by a treaty with Great Britain, superseding the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, guaranteeing the neutrality of the proposed canal, but securing rights of ownership, regulation and defense to the United States. Attempts were then made to arrange terms with the government of Colombia on which the unfinished work of the bankrupt French Panama Canal Company might be taken in hand; but negotiations for the purpose failed, and the failure led to a revolution in the province of Panama, its secession from Colombia, and the creation of an independent republic of Panama, recognized by the United States and other powers. Under a treaty with the new Panama government, the work done by the French company, with all its rights and properties connected there-

Murder of
President
McKinley,
Sept. 6,
1901

President
Roosevelt,
1901-1908

The inter-
oceanic
canal

Independ-
ence of
Panama



Theodore Roosevelt

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Woodrow Wilson

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Wm. J. Bryan

From a photograph copyrighted by
American Press Ass'n, N. Y.



Porfirio Diaz

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with, were purchased by the United States for the sum of \$40,000,000, the canal to be finished with all possible speed.

President Roosevelt was conspicuously an exponent of the ambitious new spirit in the country, which carried it into the war with Spain, took possession of Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago, raised the American standing army to 100,000 men, attempted the creation of an American navy second to none but that of England, and pressed the nation more and more into the thick of international strifes and politics, as an active and assertive "world power."

New ambi-
tions of the
United
States as a
world
power

Perhaps the impulse of this spirit came inevitably from the excess of the energies that have been developed in the country since the ending of the civil war. How could a nation that was doubled in population between 1870 and 1900; that settled five and a quarter millions of people in and beyond the mountains of the farther west, where less than a million were found thirty years before; that lengthened the miles of its railways from 35,000 in 1865 to 198,000 in 1901; that stretched them in five lines across the whole continent; that increased its wheat crop from 152,000,000 bushels in 1867 to 748,000,000 in 1902, its corn crop from 868,000,000 bushels in 1867 to 2,105,000,000 in 1901, its cotton crop from two and a quarter millions of bales in 1866 to ten and three-quarters millions in 1902, its production of iron and steel from three and a quarter millions of tons in 1870 to twenty-nine

Material develop-
ment of the
country
since the
civil war

Produc-
tiveness

Wealth-
making

Finer
aspirations
to be hoped
for

and a half millions in 1900, and the total product of its manufacturing industries from four thousand millions to thirteen thousand millions; that fertilized more than seven and a half millions of acres of arid lands by artificial irrigation; that has piled up wealth into huger public and private heaps than were ever amassed before,—how could a nation that has so changed its material circumstances, in a single generation, escape some corresponding change in temper and state of mind? No doubt it was inevitable. Perhaps the fever of work and wealth-making that has heated the blood of this present generation will undergo a timely cure, and world-power ambitions will then give place to aspirations for a national greatness planned on finer moral lines.

The Dominion of Canada

Alaska
boundary

Laurier
ministry,
1896-1911

Since the confederation of the British North American provinces, in 1867, the Dominion of Canada had a generally peaceful and prosperous career, not disturbed seriously by some disputes with the United States, relative to the Alaska boundary line, seal killing in Bering Sea, fishing rights off Newfoundland and on the great lakes, etc., all of which were referred unsuccessfully to a joint high commission in 1898. In 1896 the Conservative party, which had held power in the Dominion for a number of years, suffered defeat, and Sir Wilfred Laurier, at the head of a Liberal ministry, conducted the government for the next fifteen years.

Mexico

At the end of his first term in the Mexican presidency, General Porfirio Diaz was succeeded peacefully by General Gonzalez, who held it for four years. Diaz was then called to the office again, and was reëlected term after term. He gave to the republic of Mexico, for the first time in its history, a long period of good government and peace. Its progress in the years of his continuous administration was as remarkable in matters of education, and in the spirit and character of the people, as it was in material things. The Mexico and the Mexicans of this period seem to be a totally different country and people from the Mexico and the Mexicans of the generation before; and the government of President Diaz must be credited, undeniably, with the wonderful change.

President
Porfirio
Diaz,
1880-1905

Extraor-
dinary
progress
of the
country

Brazil

By a revolution accomplished with no resistance, in November, 1889, the imperial government in Brazil was set aside, the aged emperor, Dom Pedro II., sent to exile, and a federal republic instituted, bearing the name of the United States of Brazil. The deposed emperor was a man much esteemed in the world at large, but he did not satisfy the desire of his subjects for a larger trust of self-government, especially in their provincial affairs. Since the formation of the republic there has been not a little of the factious strife and disturbance so common in South

Fall of the
empire,
1889

The United
States of
Brazil

American politics; but Brazil is said to have prospered, on the whole.

Australia

Federal
union

Constitu-
tion of the
Common-
wealth of
Australia,
1900

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*,
6: Consti-
tution
(Full text)

After fifty years of discussion of the subject, and many attempts to accomplish a union of the Australian colonies, the five colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania were brought to an agreement in 1897 for the framing of a federal constitution, by a convention which met at Adelaide that year. The draft prepared by the convention, after amendment and acceptance by the several colonies, was submitted to the imperial parliament of Great Britain in 1899, and, with one modification by that body, was embodied in an "Act to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia," which passed parliament on the 7th of July, 1900, and was proclaimed by the queen on the 17th of the following September. The federal government of the new commonwealth was inaugurated with splendid ceremonies on the New Year day of 1901, when its parliament was opened by the duke of York, eldest son of the Prince of Wales. Queensland and Western Australia had then entered the union. New Zealand may do so in the future.

New Zealand

The most radically socialistic experiments that have ever been tried, under governmental auspices and upon a large scale, are now in progress

in New Zealand, and engaging the attention of all who concern themselves with the many social problems of the time. State ownership was made a ruling principle of the New Zealand land system in 1892; the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes was established by law in 1894; old age pensions were instituted in 1899. Judgments upon the working of these experiments are not wholly in agreement, and final conclusions regarding them are not likely to be drawn for some years.

Social ex-
periments,
1892-1899

CHAPTER XXIV

FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE PRESENT DAY

(A. D. 1901 to 1914)

The shifting of frontiers.—Spread of democracy. *Great Britain and Ireland*: King Edward VII.—Chamberlain and Tariff Reform.—Entente cordiale.—King George V.—Power of House of Lords curtailed.—Woman's suffrage.—Growth of imperialism.—Home Rule.—The Ulster crisis. *The French Republic*: Separation of Church and State.—Socialists to the fore.—President Poincaré.—Colonial expansion. *Germany*: Industrial growth.—Naval rivalry. *Austria-Hungary*: Racial conflict.—Bosnia and Herzegovina annexed.—Assassination of Francis Ferdinand. *Russia*: National Duma created.—Agrarian reform.—Russification of Finland and Poland. *Italy*: King Victor Emmanuel III.—Labor troubles.—Pope Pius X.—Tripoli wrested from Turkey. *The Iberian Peninsula*: King Alfonso XIII.—Execution of Ferrer.—Industrial unrest in Spain.—Anticlericalism.—Murder of King Carlos.—Portugal a republic. *Scandinavia*: Dissolution of union between Norway and Sweden.—Nobel Prizes. *Southeastern Europe*: The Belgrade murders.—Bulgarian independence.—The Young Turks.—Abdul Hamid deposed.—Cretan crisis. *The Balkan War*: Turkish defeats.—Assassination of King George of Greece.—Disruption of the Balkan league. *The Second Balkan War*: Bulgaria stripped of her spoils. *Albania*: Prince William of Wied. *Japan*: The Russo-Japanese War. *China*: Crusade against opium.—The Chinese Republic.—Yuan Shih-kai. *The United States*: Roosevelt's second term.—The immigration question.—Californian disaster.—Money panic.—President Taft.—Canadian reciprocity.—Prosecution of the Trusts.—Rise of Progressive party.—Return of Democrats to power.—President Wilson.—Constitutional amendments.—The Philippines. *Latin American Republics*: Mexican revolutions.—American intervention.—Occupation of Vera Cruz. *Elsewhere*: Canadian development.—Australia and New Zealand.—India and Egypt.

The
shifting of
frontiers

History has been made rapidly since the dawn of the twentieth century. In Europe, many frontiers have been changed and juggled. The Moslems have been rolled back almost to the Bosphorus, and the Balkan States have merged from their obscurity and become a disconcerting element in continental politics. A dynasty has fallen in Portugal, and a republic now takes its place. The wave of democracy has swept across Europe, and even in despotic Russia the will of the people has won a reluctant recognition;

Spread of
democracy

while Turkey too is casting aside the trammels of mediævalism. The Caucasus no longer sets a bourne to western ideas. The Orient is awakening to its strength and opportunity, and is putting into practice the lessons it has learned from the West. Even the Celestial Empire has dethroned its monarch and established a republic. Japan has tried her strength with one of the great powers of the West, and won; and the victory sent a quickening thrill through every Asiatic race.

A marked change has come over the social ideals, especially of the English-speaking countries. The individual, and not the family, is now regarded as the unit of the state; and this changed ideal has inspired movements for the legal protection of the child and for the emancipation of woman. This new conception, while emphasizing the rights of the individual, also involves an increased personal responsibility, and these obligations the State frames laws to enforce.

The individual as the social unit

The mysteries of the physical world are being reduced each year. The Poles have given up their secret to the explorer. The air is no longer an unconquered element. Invention keeps pace with the march of science. The world is drawing more closely together; distance is almost a negligible factor; civilization is no longer national but international. But in spite of this, nation still masses its strength against nation; mighty armaments confront each other

Progress of civilization

in watchful preparedness; while the nations soothe their conscience by erecting a fane to Peace.

Great Britain and Ireland

The close
of an era

Marriott,
*England
Since
Waterloo*,
538

The death of Queen Victoria marked the close of a great life and a great era. The Victorian age was not only notable for a vast upbuilding of Empire and the growth of democracy, but it stands foremost in the world's history for its proud scientific achievements and for the service rendered to humanity. "Whether regard be paid to the relief of human suffering, to the multiplication of utilities, or to the augmentation of wealth, the Victorian era incurred a heavy debt to the devoted workers in the scientific sphere. Not less impressive were the changes in the economic and social structure: the enlargement of the bounds of commerce; the genesis of new forms of industrial activity; the development of the principles of coöperation and combination; the deepening sense of social responsibility and social solidarity—all these things were characteristic of the England of the nineteenth century.'

Edward
VII. King
1901-1910

When Edward VII. ascended the throne the position of England was one of "splendid isolation." The Boer War, like the American War of Independence, had left Great Britain without a friend in Europe. To restore her prestige was the task Edward VII. set himself to perform, and mainly to his personal efforts England reached a

degree of popularity and power excelled by no other nation.

In domestic legislation two movements were prominent, education and tariff reform. Arthur J. Balfour, on assuming the premiership resigned by his uncle, Lord Salisbury, applied himself to the question of education—a question which in England is rarely divorced from religious controversy. All denominational or “voluntary” schools, which hitherto had been supported by voluntary contributions, were placed upon the rates, the same as the undenominational Board schools. This departure created a storm of protest from the Dissenters, and a Passive Resistance committee was formed to encourage individuals to refuse to pay rates for the support of denominational schools. Balfour followed Sir John Gorst’s plan of establishing one authority for primary, secondary, and technical schools, namely, the county councils in the counties and the borough councils in county boroughs working through committees appointed by the councils. This act resulted in the creation of secondary education in England as a matter for governmental concern, and by fostering healthy rivalry between counties a truly national system of education has been evolved which will bear comparison with that of any other country.

The dominating figure in British colonial affairs down to 1903 was Joseph Chamberlain. Towards the self-governing colonies he adopted an attitude of sympathy and broad imperialism

Education

Joseph
Chamber-
lain, 1836-
1914

Tariff
Reform

which met with ready response. Customs preference for British imports, first granted by Canada, was adopted by other colonies. Australian federation was also the outcome of this policy. His Tariff Reform movement, on the basis of mutual preference between the colonies and the mother country, did not find favor with the British electorate; and this revolutionary measure, when thrown into the arena of imperial politics, bade fair to disrupt the Unionist party. Protection had been a dead issue since the 'forties, and the nation had come to regard Free Trade as the mainstay of its prosperity. Chamberlain withdrew from the Cabinet in order to preach his proposed reforms; but fears of a tax on food solidified the antagonism to the measure, and Free Trade, though seriously threatened, remained as the guiding star of British industries.

Liberals
returned
to power,
1906

The unprecedented majority in favor of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at the general election of 1906 ended the twenty years of Unionist supremacy dating from the Home Rule split. The most important domestic measure undertaken by the new government was Haldane's establishment of a territorial army, consisting of militia, yeomanry, and volunteers, as a reserve of the regular army.

Shortly before Campbell-Bannerman's death in April, 1908, he was succeeded by H. H. Asquith, a leader of marked personal ability. The Liberals, supported by the Labor Party (now a strong

force in Parliament) and by the Irish Nationalists, attempted to carry out their political program, but their measures were invariably blocked by the House of Lords. This opposition on the part of the Upper Chamber led to a vigorous attack upon the powers of the Lords, and party feeling was running high when the King's death in May, 1911, occasioned a temporary lull in the storm.

During the reign of the Peacemaker, England's foreign policy was mainly concerned with the healing of old wounds and the strengthening of international ties. For such wise measures of diplomacy the King had an especial genius. A treaty was made with the Boers, and in 1904 a treaty with France was concluded which settled many controversial matters. The Moroccan question was adjusted, and the vexed question of the Newfoundland Fisheries was placed upon a firm basis. The *Entente cordiale* between France and England bears striking testimony to the King's endeavors, as well as to his consummate tact and his honesty of purpose.

British
foreign
relations

*Entente
cordiale*

With regard to Germany the course of diplomacy did not run so smoothly. The tension between Germany and England has been the cause of grave anxiety, and at times the war spirit has been so rampant that open hostilities have with difficulty been averted. The Boer War created much ill feeling between the two nations, for the Teutons sided with the Boers and regarded the British as unjust aggressors. The Kaiser's

Strained
relations
with
Germany

telegram to Kruger in 1896 did not tend to assuage the bitterness. Commercial and naval jealousy has been fostered by a partisan press, and this popular animosity against Britain was further inflamed by the British understandings with France and Russia. Shut in on two frontiers by parties to the Triple Entente, and with her Oriental designs blocked by the Anglo-Japanese alliance, Germany is not too friendly disposed to the country that has so thwarted her ambitions. The proposals for a decrease of armaments made at the Hague Conference in 1906 were coldly received in Germany. Meanwhile the attempt to reduce the overwhelming naval supremacy of Great Britain goes on feverishly, while the proletariat of both countries deplores the waste of wealth and the threatened waste of countless lives.

Anglo-
Japanese
Alliance

The Anglo-Japanese alliance was the result of a feared anti-British coalition to destroy British influence and British markets in China. But it was directly aimed against Russian encroachment in Manchuria and the predominance of Russian influence in Peking. This alliance made possible the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, for only by this treaty was the neutrality of other nations secured.

Anglo-
Russian
Conven-
tion, 1907

The defeat of Russian arms paved the way for an understanding with Great Britain concerning Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet; for the weakening and humiliation of Russia made her more amenable to British overtures. In 1907 a con-



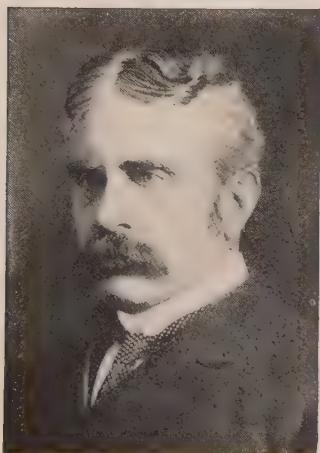
Raymond Poincare

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Yuan Skai-kai

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Robert Laird Borden

From a photograph



David Lloyd-George

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vention was signed, thus reuniting these two ancient foes; for Russian enmity and rivalry had torn British foreign politics since the downfall of Napoleon.

We have shown that these triumphs of peace were in no small measure due to Edward VII., whose kingly qualities, combined with his personal popularity, made him a potent factor in the counsels of Europe. When this great ambassador of peace passed away, it seemed almost incredible that so much had been achieved during so brief a reign. "The effect produced by his ten years of rule in this respect—the difference between the isolation, the ostracism, of Great Britain in 1901 and her commanding influence in 1911—is only comparable with the first ten years of the younger Pitt, which saw Great Britain in 1783 the pariah of the world, and in 1793 the dominating Power in Europe."

Triumphs
of peace

Browning,
*History of
the Modern
World*,
v. 2, 503

King Edward VII. was succeeded by his only surviving son as George V. An important change was made in the accession declaration respecting the religion of the Sovereign, the "no-Popery" manifesto as provided by the Bill of Rights in 1689 being replaced by a declaration less distasteful to Roman Catholics. In spite of the grave parliamentary difficulties and the social unrest, the Throne was firmly established in the hearts of the people as a unifying force, free from all party considerations. It was soon evident that the Sailor King was imbued with the same lofty ideals as his two immediate predecessors,

King
George V.,
1910-

while he showed his readiness to sustain the tradition of Royal interest in national sport and games.

Following the unparalleled grandeur of the Coronation in Westminster Abbey on June 22, 1911, the public assumption of Royal authority was completed by state visits to Ireland, Wales, and Scotland in July. The investiture of the Prince of Wales at Carnarvon Castle called forth a remarkable demonstration of Welsh national sentiment. The principle of the recognition of Imperial sovereignty was still further extended by a visit to India, where for the first time since the British occupation the King-Emperor was crowned at the ancient capital of Delhi.

Meanwhile in Parliament the clash between the two Houses was resumed, culminating in the Parliament Act of August 10, 1911, by which the veto power of the House of Lords was curtailed, and the supremacy of the Commons, both as regards finance and public legislation, was definitely secured. In the event of the House of Lords obstructing and rejecting bills passed by the Commons, its power to do so would last only for two years if the House of Commons persisted, at the end of which time the Government could pass its measures into law with the Royal assent without the Lords having any further voice in the matter.

Another great alteration in the conditions of English parliamentary life went into effect on the same day, a yearly salary of £400 (\$2,000) being

Investiture
of the
Prince of
Wales,
1911

Veto power
of House
of Lords
curtailed

Payment of
Members

voted by the House of Commons to its members, "excluding any member who is for the time being in receipt of a salary as an officer of the House or as a minister, or as an officer of His Majesty's Household."

One of the most noteworthy events of this time was the retirement of Arthur J. Balfour as leader of the Unionist party, an office which he had filled with great distinction. The leadership of the party devolved upon A. Bonar Law, while Lord Lansdowne retained the leadership in the House of Lords.

A. Bonar
Law
succeeds
Balfour as
leader of
Unionists

The National Insurance bill, introduced by Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had imported new issues into the political conflict. This measure covered two distinct subjects, namely, (1) National Health Insurance, imposing compulsory insurance on all persons under contracts of service, with certain exceptions, and providing free medical treatment and pecuniary benefits during sickness or disablement, and (2) Unemployment Insurance, limited at the outset to certain trades—building, construction of works (railroads, dock, etc.), shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron-founding, construction of vehicles, and saw-milling—but with power for the Board of Trade to extend the scheme to others. The act went into effect on June 15, 1912, meeting with opposition on the part of physicians and domestic servants.

National
Insurance
Act

The Woman's Suffrage movement has been a thorn in the side of the Government, and has

Woman's
Suffrage

found expression in inconceivable acts of folly, violence, and vandalism. Incendiarism and bomb outrages began to figure largely in the campaign against property, organized by the "militant" section of the suffragists under the leadership of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. Mail in the letter boxes has been wantonly destroyed, churches violated and burnt to the ground, art galleries attacked and many priceless works of art slashed and mutilated, members of the Royal family publicly harassed and insulted, in fact, with the exception of actual shedding of blood the militant suffragettes have stopped short of nothing in their attempts to intimidate and coerce the Government into granting votes for women. To combat the "hunger strike," or voluntary starvation during imprisonment, more or less successfully practiced by convicted suffragettes, the Government passed a measure, humorously characterized as the "Cat and Mouse Bill," for the reincarceration of suspended prisoners after their recovery from the effects of their self-imposed starvation. These unseemly acts on the part of a certain section of Englishwomen have aroused the indignation of the country at large, and have only served to obscure the principles at stake and the moral justice of the cause. Many friends of the movement deplore the substitution of futile anarchistical methods for the more regular and effectual propaganda as practiced elsewhere.

"Cat and
Mouse
Bill" 1913

Growth of
Imperial-
ism

The Imperial idea to which Joseph Chamber-

lain gave such an impetus has progressed rapidly both in the United Kingdom and the British Dominions. The popularization of the idea of closer union was crystallized when the Imperial Conference, assembled in London in 1909, laid the foundations of a practical scheme for imperial defense, in which the self-governing colonies undertake to share the duties with the mother country. A significant incident during the Imperial Conference in 1911 was the discussion of British international policy, the foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, giving the colonial representatives a frank account of the foreign situation. For the first time in British history the Empire as a whole had shared in the counsels of the old country. The problem of to-day is to defend, develop, and consolidate the vast territories which owe allegiance to the British crown. Canada, Australia, and South Africa are now less daughter nations than allies. The Colonial Conference has, as we have seen, become the Imperial Conference, the colonies have become dominions, and their governments negotiate commercial treaties with foreign powers. Canada and Australia are creating their own fleets. New Zealand, South Africa, India, and Newfoundland continue to make direct contributions to the Imperial navy. The Federated Malay States has provided the cost of a battleship. More frequent and systematic consultation between the governments are needed to give the fullest expression to the imperialistic idea; but "every

Gooch,
*History
of Our
Time*

project of fiscal, military, and political unification must be tested by its bearing on the sovereign principle of local autonomy."

Ireland
and Home
Rule

In 1912 Mr. Asquith introduced a new Home Rule bill in the House of Commons, at the same time affirming that this measure must be regarded as the first step towards parliamentary devolution and a system of federalized parliaments within the British Isles. The main purpose of the bill was that in Ireland an Irish parliament and Irish executive should be responsible for distinctly Irish affairs, while the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament was explicitly safeguarded. This bill passed the Commons on January 16, 1913, but was rejected by the House of Lords. The province of Ulster was firmly and bitterly opposed to the measure and the organization of this uncompromising opposition went steadily on. Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulstermen, in opening his campaign in May, 1913, declared: "Our right to remain citizens of the Imperial Parliament is a right that is a vital one, and, in the words of President Lincoln, it justifies and gives us a moral right to do anything that is necessary, even to the use of force." The Ulster Volunteer Force was enrolled and openly drilled, and by the end of the year over one hundred thousand men were enlisted. At first the government and the press were inclined to make light of these warlike preparations, but, when the determination of Protestant Ulster no longer left room for doubt, the government prohibited the impor-

Ulster
volunteer
force

tation of arms and ammunition into Ireland, and troops were landed in Ulster to avert a rising. The second and third reintroductions of the Home Rule bill passed the Commons with decreasing majorities, indicating a growing sympathy with the opposition among certain sections of the Liberals. The bill passed its final stage in the Commons on May 25, 1914, but before submitting the bill for the Royal assent the Government decided to introduce a Home Rule Amending bill in the House of Lords in view of the antagonism that had been aroused in Ulster, and the realization that the Home Rule Bill as it stood could only be enforced by the sword.

Home
Rule bill
passed

It is the old story of religious bitterness and hatred. It is religion which animates the Volunteers of the Protestant North, and which inspires the rival army of Irish National Volunteers in the Catholic South. The people of Ulster are convinced that their civil and religious liberties, their moral and material welfare, are bound up in resistance to dictation by a parliament in Dublin.

Religious
Antagon-
ism

It will not be out of place to review briefly the results of the period within the lives and memory of the present generation, so far as concerns the United Kingdom. There has been a marked increase in material prosperity, a great increase in territory and in imperial solidarity, an increase in national strength, though the former preponderance has not been maintained. Pauperism has diminished, though its cost has increased, due

Results
of a gen-
eration

largely to improved conditions in asylums and workhouses. Socialism under various phases has made great headway. Its teachings have impregnated the two great political parties and are reflected in recent parliamentary measures. Improved municipal administration has wrought changes in the social organization, and strenuous efforts are being made to remedy defects, especially those bearing upon industrial employment. The old aristocracy has largely given place to a new order of peers. The standard of living has improved, and the general level of wages has risen. The trend of labor has been from the country to the town, swelling the urban populations and diminishing the rural populations. The consumption of alcohol has diminished greatly in recent years, while gambling tends to increase.

In literature, few great writers stand out from the throng to take the place of those who adorned the Victorian age. The cult of the ephemeral bids fair to thrust aside the durable in letters. Nevertheless, there is a wide interest in works of science, history, biography, travel, and social and economic subjects. In painting, the Victorian conventions still prevail. "The craze for the antique and the rare has diverted funds from the support of contemporary art; but the lack of sincere and spontaneous impulse to artistic production in harmony with our modern life is the main cause of sterility. Museums and picture galleries enshrine the memorials of a creative instinct which no longer exists."

In architecture, a grandiose Palladian style gives better expression to the advertising instincts of the age, and the Gothic revival has quite passed away.

While the age has been marked by great material progress, this increased prosperity has given rise to a feeling of unrest and discontent, a feeling which has not failed to arouse the sympathies of the strong for the weak. The compassion of the fortunate for the unfortunate has already been translated into various social reforms; but whether these measures will prove to be in the best interests of the people, or whether they are merely palliatives that may sap the energy and self-reliance of the community, only the future can determine.

The French Republic

The separation of Church and State, forshadowed by the attacks on religious associations and the non-compromising policy of the Vatican, was pressed by the French government and became law at the end of 1905. Before this law Pope Pius X. refused to bow, and enjoined upon all Catholics in France to regard it as null and void. "He preferred to sacrifice the property of the French Church rather than permit the faithful to establish the associations for public worship ordained by the legislature to take charge of and administer its goods. Thus it came about that, by the deliberate will of the Holy See, this Law, which its authors had desired to be full of toler-

Separation
of Church
and State
1905

*Cambridge
Modern
History,*
v. 12, 122

ance, equity, and regard for consciences and for vested rights, was transformed in practice into a series of measures of spoliation and persecution. . . . The Catholic Church has completely lost to-day in France the financial and moral assistance of the State, the right to form any associations except for purposes of charity, the privileges of exemption from military service and from taxation which had hitherto been accorded to the clergy—all of these weapons which had been used against the democracy under the pretext of defending and propagating Catholic beliefs.”

Growing
influence
of the
Socialists

It is significant that the struggle between Church and State coincided with the growing influence of the Socialist party. The Socialists have waxed stronger and stronger in the Republic, and the Republican party deemed it expedient to make common cause with them. The final divorce of the Church from the State was the work of this party, and Socialist ministers were appointed to apply the law of separation.

Revolu-
tionary
elements
among the
Socialists

Not that the Socialists present a united front. Their ranks contain such extremists as Anarchists, Anti-militarists who seek to destroy the army, and Syndicalists hostile both to Marxism and to parliamentary methods, and the relations of the Republic with a party containing such disruptive elements constitutes one of the gravest problems of democratic France.

Disintegra-
tion of
the *bloc*

When the war on the Church was practically over, the *bloc*, as the coalition between the various Radical Republican groups and the Socialists



William II
From a photograph



King George V
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Yoshihito, the Mikado
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Plus X
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was called, showed signs of disintegration. Neglect of social legislation, and the severity with which various labor strikes were quelled, made Clemenceau's ministry more and more unpopular with the Socialists. When the first Socialist premier, M. Briand, succeeded Clemenceau in 1909 the relations between the parties became even more hostile. The following year a serious railway strike broke out, accompanied by *sabotage*, and the premier, affecting to regard it as an anarchist outbreak, quelled it by calling out the strikers in their capacity of reservists. This terminated the period of Socialist influence in the government policy. Briand was succeeded in 1911 by M. Monis and M. Caillaux in turn. General dissatisfaction with M. Caillaux's conduct of affairs in the Morocco crisis between France and Germany resulted in the fall of his cabinet in January, 1912, and a strong cabinet was immediately formed under Raymond Poincaré. M. Poincaré, a zealous advocate of electoral reform and proportional representation, remained at the head of the ministry until his election to the Presidency in 1913, in succession to M. Fallières, when M. Briand again became premier. The Briand cabinet was defeated in March on the electoral reform bill, and a new ministry was formed by M. Barthou. The army bill introduced by the government was bitterly opposed by the Socialists, and the anti-militarist agitation was accompanied by the gravest disorders and threats of mutiny. The bill became

Strikes and
sabotage

Poincaré
succeeds
Fallières
as Presi-
dent, 1913

Army bill
providing
for three-
year service
becomes
law, Aug.
1913

law in August, and provided for a three-year service, increasing the peace strength of the army to 673,000 men. In December, 1913, the government was defeated in the Chamber of Deputies, and a new ministry composed of Socialists, Radicals, and Radical Socialists, was formed by M. Doumergue. These frequent changes of ministry do not indicate political instability, but rather that the center of power lies in the Chamber of Deputies.

French
expansion

French colonizing has gone on apace, and new territories have been opened to commerce and civilization. The work of colonization has been successfully prosecuted in Africa, though not without European complications. At the risk of a war with Germany, France asserted her preponderance in Morocco, a claim which Germany formally recognized in February, 1909. A Franco-Moroccan treaty of 1912 instituted a French protectorate. The action of Germany in sending a gunboat to Agadir aroused great indignation in France. Germany subsequently gave its adhesion to this treaty, receiving as compensation a large section of territory in French Equatorial Africa.

Moroccan
crisis

Oversea
Dominions

The French colonial possessions have now a total area of 4,084,410 square miles, including Algeria and Morocco, with a population estimated at about 55,000,000. One-third of this vast area has been added within recent times, and in building up these oversea dominions France has engaged in few wars, and none at all

with any European power. She has shown a readiness to refer her disputes to the Hague Tribunal; while the peaceful development of her resources, and the maintenance of her national safety and of the Balance of Power, have been the guiding policy of her statesmen.

Germany

Since 1870 Germany has developed from an agrarian into an industrial state, but largely as a result of protective duties agriculture has not been impaired by the growth of manufactures. Her industrial and financial development can be compared only with those of the United States and Great Britain, for, in point of industrial activity and productive power, these three nations constitute a class by themselves. Entering the field late, Germany had not the advantage of oversea possessions, consequently she has had to find markets in foreign countries. Her foreign policy has been determined by this fact; hence, she has striven to maintain the open door in as many countries as possible, while securing colonies, spheres of influence, or coaling stations, to strengthen her position beyond the seas.

Industrial
growth

Need of
foreign
markets
determines
foreign
policy

These vast maritime interests necessitated the maintenance of an increasingly powerful navy, till at the present time Germany ranks next to Great Britain as the greatest naval power in the world, with the United States a close third. This naval expansion has introduced new tendencies into German foreign policy, and the rivalry with

Naval
growth and
rivalry

Great Britain is one of the most disturbing factors in European affairs.

Prince von
Bülow,
chancellor,
1900-1909

The leading part that Germany was now able to play in *Weltpolitik* was popular with all parties in the Fatherland except the Socialists. To meet the increasing drain upon the revenues, the Chancellor Bülow, who succeeded Hohenlohe in 1900, secured the passing of a new tariff, raising the duty on corn and wheat. This measure, together with the dissatisfaction created by the manner in which the government was dealing with the native revolt in German Southwest Africa, served to intensify the unpopularity and difficulties of the Chancellor. Nor was his path made smoother by reason of the various indiscreet utterances of the Emperor. In 1909 Bülow resigned, and was succeeded by Bethmann-Hollweg.

Demand
for
electoral
reform

The most pressing question of Prussian politics is that of the franchise. The system of indirect election and the dividing of voters into three classes according to their income actually left the Socialists without any representation in the Landtag previous to 1908, although they polled the greatest number of votes. Such a travesty of representative government has led to various demonstrations and disorders. The election of 1912 was remarkable for the success of the Socialists and the defeat of Liberalism.

The
Krupp
trial

A sensation was caused in April of 1913 when a Socialist deputy made a statement in the Reichstag accusing several manufacturers of

arms and ammunition, including the Krupp's, with bribing officials and with stimulating militarism. This led to an investigation and a trial in Berlin, several military officials being found guilty of selling information, while as the result of another trial two high officials of the Krupp Company were found guilty of bribing government officials to betray military secrets.

The marriage of the Emperor's only daughter, Princess Victoria Luise, to Prince Ernst August of Cumberland, son of the exiled Hanoverian claimant, took place in Berlin May 21, 1913. The marriage ended a dynastic feud between the two houses. In October the federal council adopted a motion, in spite of the Crown Prince's opposition, enabling Prince Ernst August and the Princess to ascend the throne of Brunswick. The new Duke and Duchess made their entry into their duchy on November 3, 1913, thus ending the regency of Johann Albrecht.

Marriage
of Kaiser's
only
daughter,

Duchy of
Brunswick

Austria-Hungary

Of recent years the racial conflict between the German element and the Czechs, and the general clash of parties, produced at times a state of parliamentary paralysis. Some idea of the heterogeneous make-up of the Reichstag may be gathered by recalling that it includes, for instance, German Liberals, National Germans, Anti-Semites, Poles, Ruthenians, Young Czechs, Old Czechs, Independent Czechs, Left Centre, Clericals, Slavonians and Serbo-Croats, Bohe-

Racial
conflict

mian Feudal Conservatives, Moravian Central Party, Italians, Roumanians, and German Conservatives. The forms of government laid down in 1867 in the so-called Compromise (*Ausgleich-Kiegyezés*) had remained practically unchanged in the two countries, in spite of the equilibrium of political, social, economic, and national forces being shifted. An electoral reform based on the principle of universal suffrage went into effect in 1906 in Austria, and a similar reform was promised to Hungary. The results of this reform were seen in the elections of 1907 and in the subsequent history of the parliament. In the new Chamber the two strongest parties were no longer the nationalist but the economic parties, namely, the Christian Socialists and the Social Democrats. Obstruction tactics were still resorted to, but as these were now the weapon of the weakest sections they were no longer able to clog the action of Parliament.

Austria
adopts
universal
suffrage,
1906

The Compromise of 1867 had given Hungary as equal position in the Dual Monarchy, but as she became stronger her demand for greater independence became more insistent. The independence party under M. Kossuth, son of the hero, agitated for a national army, while the Sovereign was set upon maintaining an undivided imperial force. In 1905, Kossuth, aided by Count Apponyi who had seceded from the Liberals when Tisza took office two years before, overthrew Tisza, and the parties of independence signalized their sweeping victory by demanding

Growth of
Independence party
in Hungary

Tisza
routed
by the
Coalition,
1906

various concessions from the King. On these being refused, the Coalition declined to take office, and Baron Fejérváry formed a ministry. The Opposition stood firm, and ultimately a compromise was reached on the vexed question of the Crown's military prerogatives, a Coalition cabinet being formed by Wekerle, supported by Kossuth, Apponyi, and Andrassy. In 1909, the Independence party split into two groups, and at the close of the year the growing reaction against the Coalition brought about its collapse. Héderváry, a friend of the King, took office, and gave a temporary check to the separatists. In 1912 he resigned, and a new cabinet was formed by Lukács. The following year Lukács' ministry fell, after the corrupt practices of the prime minister were exposed in court, and Count Tisza again took office.

In Bohemia violent clashes have taken place between the Germans and the Czechs, particularly over the language question. In 1913 these differences hampered the work of administration to such an extent that the Emperor temporarily suspended the Bohemian constitution.

Since the treaty of Berlin in 1878 Bosnia and Herzegovina had been administered by Austria-Hungary; but in 1908 the two provinces were formally annexed to the Empire.

On August 18, 1913, the eighty-third birthday of Francis Joseph was celebrated throughout Austria-Hungary. The Emperor is the last

Language
question
in Bohemia

Bosnia and
Herze-
govina
annexed,
1908

Francis
Joseph's
83rd birth-
day cele-
brated

survivor of his generation and the patriarch of the sovereigns and nations of Europe.

It was hoped by all who have watched the vicissitudes of the Emperor's troubled life that he might be suffered to end his days in peace. Brother, son, and wife were torn from him, one after the other, by violent deaths. In the evening of his life, the pistol of a Servian assassin has robbed him of the nephew who was to succeed him, together with the mother of that nephew's children. The Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his morganatic wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, were shot dead while driving through the streets of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, on June 28, 1914.

Murder of
Francis
Ferdinand,
June 28,
1914

Russia

The reverses in the war with Japan were deeply mortifying to the Russians. But more humiliating than the Japanese victories was the Russian conduct of the war. The flagrant peculation and the systematic misrepresentations of responsible officials aroused the anger and discontent of the masses. The popular demand for some break in the iron system of autocracy and bureaucracy found expression in a memorial to the Tzar. On March 3, 1905, the Tzar signed a decree authorizing the creation of a body of elected representatives of the people, not to be a national legislature, but to be merely an organ for the expression of the opinions and wishes of the nation. Reforms affecting the Jews and Poles were promulgated, and the censorship of the press was relaxed.

Growing
discontent

Creation
of national
Duma
sanctioned

On May 5, a great congress of zemstvoists at Moscow demanded universal suffrage and the immediate convocation of a national assembly. In August a manifesto was issued containing provisions for the regulation of the national Duma. But the revolutionary party was not satisfied with a merely consultative assembly, chosen by indirect election, but demanded a Duma elected by direct and universal suffrage and with less restricted powers. Meanwhile internal disturbances increased, and industrial Russia was threatened with paralysis. Count Witte, the prime minister, induced the Tzar to grant further concessions, and an imperial manifesto of October 30 promised "freedom of conscience, speech, union, and association," also a veto on legislation, and effective control over the acts of officials.

The revolutionary party clamored for more liberal reforms and organized further strikes in an attempt to overthrow the new régime. Terrible massacres of the Jews were perpetrated, and mutinies broke out in the army and the fleet. In the elections in the spring of 1906 the reformers obtained a decided majority, Witte being succeeded in the premiership by Goremykin. The Duma, in reply to the speech from the throne demanded control over the executive, amnesty for political prisoners, freedom of the press, of speech, and of meeting, and the expropriation of land holdings for the benefit of the peasantry. The Tzar dissolved the Duma after a session of

Revolu-
tionary
activity

First Duma
dissolved,
July 22,
1906

three months, and appointed Stolypin premier.

Stolypin set about the strengthening of the government's position with great energy. Terrorists and suspects were summarily punished, tens of thousands were banished without trial, and the prisons were filled to overflowing. The second Duma was opened on March 5, 1907, but was dissolved three months later by the Tzar's edict, after accomplishing virtually nothing. Many members of the dissolved Duma issued a manifesto urging the people not to pay taxes and to resist conscription in order to bring the government to terms. The signatories were sentenced to imprisonment, and reaction now ruled unchecked. The Socialists were tried behind closed doors, and banished to Siberia. Many persons were executed for offenses committed two or three years previously. In November the third Duma met. The new assembly was composed chiefly of landowners, and the "Octobrists" held a strong majority. Stolypin's scheme of agrarian reform received the support of the Duma, and was embodied in a statute in 1910. The law gave the peasant the right to claim his holding in individual possession and in a single plot, and empowered the commune to substitute private for communal ownership. The purchase price of State land sold to the peasants during 1907-1910 was 28,096,973 rubles (\$14,469,942), most of which is to be paid off by installments spread over fifty-five and a half years. The ultimate effect of this emancipation

Second
Duma,
March 5-
June 15,
1907

Third
Duma,
1907-1912

Agrarian
reform

of the peasantry from the thralldom of their communes is too early to predict; but already the change has manifested itself in a new spirit of nationalism.

The fourth Duma was elected in September, 1912. Its relations with the government have not been the most harmonious. The Duma passed a law abolishing serfdom in the Caucasus, and this law was confirmed by the Council of the Empire on January 1, 1913. It should be noted that the Council, which consists of an equal number of elected members and members nominated by the Tzar, has equal legislative and initiatory powers with the Duma. All measures must be passed by both bodies before being submitted for the Imperial sanction, and bills rejected by one of the legislative bodies cannot be brought forward again without the Imperial consent. It is provided, however, that "the fundamental laws of the Imperial administration" shall not be touched.

Fourth
Duma
meets,
1912

Council
of the
Empire

Difficulties between Russia and the United States arose in 1911, and in December of that year President Taft deemed it necessary to abrogate the treaty of 1832, because of Russia's refusal to recognize American passports in the hands of Jews, clergymen of certain evangelical denominations, and others. This action gave great umbrage in Russia, and for a time a tariff war was seriously threatened.

United
States
abrogates
Russian
treaty,
Dec., 1911

The murder of Stolypin by a revolutionary Jew in the theatre at Kiev in September, 1911,

Assassina-
tion of
Stolypin

aroused popular indignation against the Jews, and outbreaks of anti-Semitism were frequent. To such lengths was this race hatred carried that a Jew named Beiliss was accused of "ritual murder" in connection with the death of a Christian boy at Kiev. After remarkable proceedings in which the most ludicrous evidence was submitted the charge fell to the ground, and the man Beiliss, who had been kept in prison for over a year without trial, was acquitted.

"Ritual
murder"
trial
ends in
acquittal,
Nov. 10,
1913

Finland

The constitutional rights which had been guaranteed to Finland by Alexander I. and his successors began to be encroached upon toward the end of the reign of Alexander III. Between 1899 and 1903 the powers of local self-government were taken away; the postal system was merged with that of Russia, the censorship was tightened, and Russian police were introduced. At first the Finns met these measures by passive resistance; but in 1904 Bobrikoff, the governor-general, was assassinated. A national strike broke out in 1905, and the Tzar promised to restore the independence of the Finnish army, as well as the legislative independence of the people. A Diet was established, and the responsibility of the secretary of state to the Diet was admitted. The new Diet met in 1907, but was dissolved in the following year. The Russian Council of Ministers were given wide powers of control over Finish legislation, the imperial government de-

Constitu-
tional
rights
ignored

Finnish
Diet
established,
1907



Francisco I. Madero

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Venustiano Carranza

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Victoriano Huerta

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Pancho Villa

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manding that bills affecting imperial interests should be submitted to the joint preliminary examination of the secretary of state for Finland and the Council of Ministers. An imperial rescript, issued in October 1909, decreed that the Finnish Diet should no longer have power to legislate concerning military service in Finland. In the meantime Finland was to pay to the imperial exchequer an annual contribution of \$2,000,000 in lieu of furnishing recruits to the army or navy.

The members of the national assembly are elected by universal suffrage for three years, women being likewise eligible for election to the chamber. It is worthy of note that woman suffrage and representation in Finland has been gained without agitation.

Women
eligible
for
election

Poland

The Russification of Poland has steadily continued. The official use of the Polish language has been long prohibited; local self-government has been swept away, and a Russian censorship of the press has been established. Though an armed rising has been threatened, the fact that the nobles and the commercial class are German while the peasantry are Letts has made concerted opposition virtually impossible. The two leading parties, namely the Nationalists and the Socialists, have combined in an attempt to secure such a measure of autonomy as obtains in Galicia. But such a realization seems very remote, for the trend of Russian policy is to wipe out every

Russifica-
tion
ruthlessly
enforced

vestige of both Finnish and Polish nationalism.

Italy

With the opening of the twentieth century we note the advent of two new forces into Italian politics, namely, a vigorous and organized socialism and an organized Catholic laity. The former movement has given the democracy a new hope, and the slow struggle for economic emancipation and the constructive socialistic propaganda have largely weaned the masses from the solvent forces of anarchism.

Assassina-
tion of
King
Humbert
I., July 29,
1900

King
Victor
Emmanuel
III., 1900-

The assassination of King Humbert by an Italian anarchist terminated the mournful period which began with the disasters in Abyssinia. Humbert was endowed with the courage of his race; but his political outlook was narrow, and towards the close of his reign he allowed a reactionary militarism to blind him to the signs of the times. The new King, Victor Emmanuel III., was a man of different type, and was free from the craving for adventure which had almost been the undoing of his country. He realized that the widespread discontent could only be removed by wise government and fearless reform. His enlightened policy has done much to improve the fortunes of Italy, while he personally has gained in public esteem among all except the revolutionary extremists. The ending of the tariff war with France had brought about a revival of trade, the production of silk and other industries increased, the financial credit of Italy

was restored, and the burden of taxation was materially lightened.

Labor troubles however have hampered successive administrations. These frequent strikes were largely the result of the new policy of countenancing strikes if legally conducted. In 1904 a general strike, accompanied by serious riots and much destruction of property, created a revulsion of feeling. In the general election which followed, the Extreme Left was defeated, more than four-fifths of the elected members pledging themselves to support the Constitution against the Socialist attacks. After various changes of ministry, Luzzatti came into power in 1910 with a Cabinet in which the Radicals predominated. He resigned in March 1911, owing to the rejection of his scheme of electoral reform with compulsory voting, and Giolitti once more became premier. Giolitti has remained the foremost figure in Italian politics since the fall of Crispi.

Labor
troubles

Giolitti

But public life in Italy is notoriously corrupt, and there is consequently little confidence in the integrity of Parliament. The attitude of the people was made plain during the agitation over the shipping subsidies, which resulted in the wrecking of Sonnino's ministry in 1910.

Corruption
and
politics

A notable feature of the present reign is the gradual passing of the old feeling of bitterness between the Papacy and the House of Savoy. When the devout Cardinal Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, was elevated to the Chair of St. Peter,

Pius X.
discounte-
nances the
old aloof-
ness

rendered vacant by the death of Leo XIII. in 1903, he bent his efforts to promote a better understanding between the Vatican and the Quirinal. When the king visited Bologna, the Pope permitted the Archbishop to welcome the royal visitor and to sit on his right hand at the reception banquet. Italy has been substituted for France as the Protector of the Eastern Catholics. Faithful sons of the Church are even encouraged to join in the attacks upon socialism and anticlericalism, instead of abstaining from active politics as heretofore.

Annexa-
tion of
Tripoli and
Cyrenaica,
1912

In 1911 Italy determined to push her advantage in Tripoli, and in September delivered an ultimatum to the Porte, demanding concessions virtually amounting to a protectorate. The war which ensued gave Italy the coveted possessions, Tripoli and Cyrenaica being formally annexed in 1912. Native tribes continued to give trouble, and the pacification of Cyrenaica in particular has proved a difficult problem for Italian arms.

Triple
Alliance

Italian diplomacy still leans toward Germany and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Italy). Popular sentiment is more in favor of France, the bond of union between the two Latin nations being drawn still closer by the ready acquiescence of France in the Tripolitan policy. The Triple Alliance was renewed without modification on December 16, 1913.

Spain

The loss of the Spanish colonies has proved a

blessing in disguise. Freed from the strain of colonial wars, Spain began in earnest to set her house in order, and has progressed to a condition of relative prosperity and towards a state of political stability. The monarchy passed through a crisis, which for a time seemed to threaten it with destruction. When the young King Alfonso XIII. attained his majority in 1902, a new Spanish era may be said to have dawned. His marriage in 1906 to Princess Victoria Eugénie (popularly known as Princess Ena) of Battenberg, a grand-daughter of Queen Victoria, was welcomed by the vast majority of his subjects, since it secured for Spain a powerful friend and gave promise of a more liberal government. The courage shown by the youthful couple on their wedding day, when they narrowly escaped death from a bomb thrown by an anarchist, evoked popular sympathy, and the dynasty has firmly established itself in the affections of the people.

Improved
conditions

Marriage
of Alfonso
XIII., May
31, 1906

To Spain, as well as to France, was entrusted the duty of policing the coast of Morocco. A rebellion of the tribesmen developed into a war which entailed an expenditure of much blood and money. The sending of reinforcements to carry on what was commonly regarded as a speculators' war aroused popular indignation in Spain, and fierce rioting broke out especially in Barcelona. On July 28, 1909, martial law was proclaimed throughout Spain, and Professor Francisco Ferrer was tried by court-martial and executed as an instigator of sedition. The shoot-

Affairs in
Morocco

Execution
of Ferrer

ing of Ferrer was attributed to the animosity of the Church, and an outbreak of anticlericalism spread throughout the country, finding an echo in all parts of the world. The government was fiercely attacked, and the ministry resigned, a new ministry being formed by the veteran Liberal Moret. The campaign in Morocco was brought to an end, and a treaty was signed by which Mulai Hafid undertook to indemnify Spain, and recognized her right to hold for seventy-five years the territory she had conquered. Unrest in Morocco continued both in the French and the Spanish zones. In May, 1913, the tribesmen declared war and besieged Tetuan in considerable numbers, under the leadership of Raisuli. Over 15,000 Spanish troops were despatched to quell the rising. By the Franco-Spanish treaty of November, 1912, entire responsibility for matters in connection with the Spanish zone was left to Spain.

Franco-Spanish Treaty, 1912

Discontent of laboring classes

The material progress which gave place to the period of violent political unrest produced its inevitable result. The poor, both in town and country, have experienced some improvement in their condition, and have acquired tastes and longings unknown to their fathers. The discontent of the laboring class has been very marked in the south. On this class the weight of taxation falls heavily. "The excessive emigration of the agricultural class to the River Plate, to Cuba since the island became independent, and to the west of the United States, is stimu-

Cambridge Modern History, v. 12, 267

lated by misery. Some of the emigrants return when they have made a little money, and most of them remit part of their earnings home to their families. But the returned emigrants, known in Spain as *Indios*, and the remittances, alike serve to spread the conviction that men can prosper better anywhere than at home. There is a growing though still unenlightened understanding of the fact that the poverty of the lower orders is due to a bad fiscal system, and to protection carried to a point at which it all but strangles the movement of trade: a sense of wrong, a wish to escape, and a tendency to revolt, are spreading."

In the cities and the mining districts where combination is easier, strikes have been frequent, brought about chiefly by a scandalous truck system. In Barcelona a long series of turbulent outrages have been indulged in by the workmen. In August, 1913, a general strike was proclaimed which threw over 75,000 men out of employment and closed 260 factories. The workers demanded a nine hours' day, an increase in piece-workers' wages equal to a nine hours' day wage, and the enforced observance of the law regarding night-working in mills, especially as regards women workers. The Government promised to introduce a bill conceding the various demands, and the strike came to an end in September.

The anticlericalism which had swept over Republican France became a grave issue in Spanish politics. Refugees from France and from the Philippines swelled the number of

Strikes
and
outrages }

Anticlericalism

monks and nuns in Spain, and set at defiance the Concordat of 1851 which limited the number of authorized orders to three. When Canalejas was returned at the head of a radical and anti-clerical ministry in 1910, he determined to put the statute into operation. He prohibited the establishment of new religious houses, ordered their registration, and repealed the decree of 1870 forbidding the appearance of any emblem or notification on Protestant places of worship. These enactments shook the very foundations of Spanish society, and brought about an open rupture with the Vatican, leading to the withdrawal of the Spanish ambassador. In 1912, the premier Canalejas was assassinated by an anarchist. His successor, Count Romanones, resumed formal relations with the Vatican in January, 1913. But this rapprochement with the Papal Court was merely a step in the general policy of conciliation, and did not alter the determination of the government to proceed with its Associations bill, secularization of teaching, civil marriage, and neutralization of cemeteries.

Rupture
with the
Vatican

Portugal

Like her neighbor, Portugal had suffered from corrupt and self-seeking politicians and financial confusion; nor was the condition of the country improved by the extravagance of King Carlos. Successive ministers met his demands by advances from the treasury, and "the monarchy

Extrava-
gance of
King
Carlos

became a partner with place-hunting politicians in robbing the revenue."

For many years the state had been governed by two political parties, the Regeneradores and the Progressistas, who followed one another in office at frequent intervals, each in turn plundering the state and battenning on the spoils of office. This regular rotation of ministries led to the popular nickname of Rotativos, applied contemptuously to both parties. The rotative system of party government, "while ensuring a comfortable livelihood to a class of professional politicians, was of no conspicuous benefit to the country, and it was with a view to ending it that King Carlos summoned Senhor João Franco, in May, 1906, to form a ministry. Senhor Franco, who belonged to neither of the recognized parties, set his hand zealously to the work of reform, but his attempts to purge the administration soon brought him into conflict with powerful vested interests; and in May, 1907, the politicians whose livelihoods he was reforming away united against him in a policy of obstruction which made parliamentary government impossible. He then dissolved the Cortes, and with the approval of the King assumed the position of dictator. His work of reform thenceforth proceeded apace. Drastic decrees, each aimed at some abuse, followed one another with amazing rapidity. Strong in the support of the king and of the best elements in the country, execrated by the politicians whom he had spoiled, and by the Press

Rotative
system of
plundering
the State

Larned,
History for
Ready
Reference
v. 7 505

which he had done nothing to conciliate, he continued on his headlong course, and at the end of January, 1908, he signed a decree practically amounting to a suspension of civil liberties."

Murder of
King
Carlos,
Feb. 1,
1908

The expected crash soon came. On February 1, 1908, while driving through the streets of Lisbon with his wife and his two sons, the king was attacked by a band of assassins. The King and the Crown Prince were killed on the spot, Prince Manuel, the second son, was slightly wounded, and the Queen escaped miraculously from the hail of bullets.

Manuel II.
proclaimed
king

The crime is unique in that it proved successful. Franco fled across the border, a coalition cabinet was formed, and the professional politicians resumed their powers. The monarchy itself was mortally stricken. The young King Manuel lacked personality, and no serious attempt was made to discover the perpetrators of the crime.

Revolution
and down-
fall of the
monarchy,
Oct., 1910

Meanwhile the Republicans were maturing their plans. On October 4, 1910, a revolution broke out, and the throne toppled over in a single night. A republic was proclaimed on the following day, with Dr. Teofilo Braga as president. The king fled on the royal yacht to Gibraltar, and later to England; and after desultory fighting the Royalist troops were defeated or joined the revolutionists. The provinces and the colonies hailed the revolution with enthusiasm. The crumbling of the monarchy was witnessed without protest or regret.

The provisional government at once turned its attention to the clerical allies of the monarchy, and decreed the immediate expulsion of monks and nuns, and, on October 28, the total separation of Church and State. The Republic was officially recognized by the United States on June 19, 1911; by France on August 24; by Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Spain, and Italy on September 11. Following the elections in June, Dr. Manoel Arriaga was elected the first constitutional president of the Portuguese Republic on August 24, 1911.

Separation
of Church
and State

Arriaga
elected
president
of the
Republic,
Aug. 24,
1911

The laboring classes, finding that the change had brought them no material benefits, lost their enthusiasm and anti-government disturbances soon became general. Many strikes broke out and disaffection appeared among some of the troops, while the syndicalists attempted to stir up rebellion in the navy. Sporadic royalist demonstrations were made, especially in the mountainous country in the north, but as these movements lacked the support of the inhabitants the government had little difficulty in quelling the outbreaks.

Strikes and
disaffection

Anarchist
out-
breaks

The dethroned king has taken no active part in any of these monarchist movements. On September 4, 1913, former King Manuel was married to Princess Augustine Victoria, daughter of Prince William of Hohenzollern, at Sigmaringen, Germany.

Marriage
of Manuel,
Sept. 4,
1913

Scandinavia

The protracted dispute between Norway and

Dissolution
of union
between
Norway
and
Sweden,
1905

Prince
Charles of
Denmark
becomes
King of
Norway as
Haakon
VII.

King
Gustavus
V. of
Sweden,
1907—

Territorial
integrity
guaranteed
by treaty

Sweden arising from the fact that the former was allowed no national representation, diplomatic or consular, in foreign countries, finally led to the dissolution of the union in June, 1905, by the action of the Norwegian Storthing. The union between the two countries had lasted from 1814, and the dissolution was effected without resort to arms. As the result of a general election, the Norwegians declared for a monarchical form of government, and as King Oscar declined the offer of the throne to a prince of his house the Storthing elected Prince Charles, younger son of the Crown Prince Frederick of Denmark, to be king of Norway. Prince Charles, who was married to the youngest daughter of King Edward of England, accepted the offer, and became king as Haakon VII. The venerable King Oscar did not long survive these events, and passed away on December 8, 1907. He was succeeded by his son, King Gustavus V. The maritime frontier of the two countries was determined by The Hague tribunal in October, 1909. The Grisbadarna Islands, important as fishing centers, were allotted to Sweden, while Skjoette Grund was awarded to Norway.

The 1855 treaty, under which the integrity of Norway and Sweden as against Russia was guaranteed by Great Britain and France, was dissolved on November 2, 1907, and a new treaty guaranteeing the independence and territorial integrity of Norway was signed by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany,

Russia, and Norway. The Norwegian government undertook to cede no part of Norwegian territory to any Power either by way of occupation or otherwise.

In examining the results of the dissolution of the Union we cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Ludvig Stavenow of the University of Goteborg:—"The rupture of the Union has undoubtedly diminished the external security of the two Scandinavian States. By herself Norway is a small, weak Power, owing to her poverty and her scanty population; her independence may easily be seriously threatened in certain circumstances. She has sought protection by entering into a treaty [see above]. . . For Sweden, too, the divorce from Norway made the international position more difficult and dangerous; but, at the same time, the dissolution of the Union was felt as a relief from the continual conflicts with Norway, and national feeling in Sweden had grown during the conflict to a fuller and clearer consciousness than it had possessed for centuries. In her national homogeneity and territorial compactness, which do not invite conflicts with other Powers, and in a highly developed and numerous army of defense, she possesses the guarantee of continued peace and security from without."

Results
of the dis-
solution

Nobel Prizes

On December 10 in recent years the eyes of the civilized world are turned to Sweden, for on that date—the anniversary of Nobel's death—the

coveted Nobel Prizes are awarded. Alfred Bernard Nobel, the distinguished Swedish chemist and inventor of dynamite, left part of his great fortune to constitute a fund, the interest to be awarded annually in prizes to those persons who have contributed most largely to the common good during the preceding year. There are five prizes, each worth about \$40,000, for the most important discoveries or improvements in (1) physics, (2) chemistry, and (3) physiology or medicine; for (4) the most distinguished work of an idealistic tendency in the field of literature, and (5) for the best effort towards the fraternity of nations and the promotion of peace by either a person or society. No regard is paid to the nationality of the candidates. The Nobel Foundation is administered by a Board of Control at Stockholm, consisting of five members with a president appointed by the King of Sweden. The Peace Prize is awarded by a committee of the Norwegian Storting. The first awards were distributed on the fifth anniversary of Nobel's death, December 10, 1901. The awards are as follows:—

(1) Physics.—1901, W. C. Röntgen, Germany; 1902, H. A. Lorentz and P. Zeeman, Holland; 1903, H. A. Becquerel, P. Curie and Marie Curie, France; 1904, Lord Rayleigh, England; 1905, Prof. Philipp Lenard, Germany; 1906, Prof. J. J. Thomson, England; 1907, Prof. A. A. Michelson, United States; 1908, Prof. G. Lippman, France; 1909, G. Marconi, Italy, and Prof. F. Braun,

Germany; 1910, Prof. J. D. van der Waals, Holland; 1911, Prof. W. Wien, Germany; 1912, G. Dalen, Sweden; 1913, H. K. Onnes, Germany.

CHEMISTRY.—1901, J. H. van't Hoff, Holland; 1902, E. Fischer, Germany; 1903, S. A. Arrhenius, Sweden; 1904, Sir W. Ramsay, England; 1905, A. von Baeyer, Germany; 1906, Prof. H. Moissan, France; 1907, Prof. E. Buchner, Germany; 1908, Prof. E. Rutherford, England; 1909, Prof. W. Ostwald, Germany; 1910, Prof. Otto Wallach, Germany; 1911, Madame M. Curie, France; 1912, Prof. V. Grignard and Prof. P. Sabatier, France; 1913, Prof. A. Werner, Switzerland.

(2) Chemistry

MEDICINE.—1901, E. A. von Behring, Germany; 1902, Sir R. Ross, England; 1903, N. R. Finsen, Denmark; 1904, Dr. Pavloff, Russia; 1905, Prof. R. Koch, Germany; 1906, Prof. Ramon y Cajal, Spain, and Prof. Golgi, France; 1907, Dr. Laveran, France; 1908, Dr. P. Ehrlich, Germany, and Prof. E. Metchnikoff, Russia; 1909, Prof. T. Kocher, Switzerland; 1910, Dr. A. Kossel, Germany; 1911, Prof. A. Gullstrand, Sweden; 1912, Dr. A. Carrel, United States; 1913, Prof. C. Richet, France.

(3) Medicine

LITERATURE.—1901, R. F. A. Sully-Prudhomme, France; 1902, T. Mommsen, Germany; 1903, B. Björnson, Norway; 1904, F. Mistral, France, and J. Echegaray, Spain; 1905, H. Sienkiewicz, Poland; 1906, Prof. G. Carducci, Italy; 1907, Rudyard Kipling, England; 1908, Prof. R. C. Eucken, Germany; 1909, Selma Lagerlof,

(4) Literature

Sweden; 1910, P. J. L. Heyse, Germany; 1911, M. Maeterlinck, Belgium; 1912, G. Hauptmann, Germany; 1913, Rabindranath Tagore, India.

(5) Peace

PEACE.—1901, H. Dunant, Switzerland, and F. Passy, France; 1902, E. Ducommun and A. Gobat, Switzerland; 1903, Sir W. R. Cremer, England; 1904, The Institute of International Law (the first award to an institution); 1905, Baroness von Suttner, Austria; 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt, United States; 1907, E. T. Moneta, Italy, and L. Renault, France; 1908, K. P. Arnoldson, Sweden, and M. F. Bajer, Denmark; 1909 Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, France, and M. Beernaert, Belgium; 1910, Berne International Peace Bureau; 1911 Prof. T. M. C. Asser, Holland, and A. H. Fried, Austria; 1912, no award at the time, but awarded later to Senator Elihu Root, United States; 1913, Senator H. La Fontaine, Belgium.

Southeastern Europe

The history of southeastern Europe during recent years is one of racial animosity, bloodshed, and political upheavals. In June, 1903, the world was horrified at the brutal murder of the King and Queen of Serbia by military conspirators. The mangled corpses of Alexander and Draga were thrown out of the palace windows, while the assassins continued their work in the city, the Queen's two brothers, the prime minister, and the minister of war being shot down in cold blood; and "Belgrade proved to

Murder of
King Alex-
ander and
Queen
Draga of
Serbia,
1903

the world that she was still, after a century of practical freedom, inhabited by thinly polished barbarians." Prince Peter Karageorgevich, an exile and the puppet of the regicides, was elected king by the National Assembly. The conspirators were retained about the throne, and the moral sense of the great Powers was so offended that only Russia and Austria, traditional rivals in Servia, recognized King Peter. In 1906, when the chief murderers retired, the other Powers removed the boycott. A tariff war with Austria-Hungary injured the commerce of the country, and the Crown Prince George so scandalized the country by his freaks that he was induced to resign the succession in favor of his brother Prince Alexander.

King
Peter I.
of Servia,
1903-

In 1908, Bulgaria threw off the last shreds of vassalage and declared her independence, Prince Ferdinand being proclaimed "Tsar of Bulgaria," a title since changed to "Tsar of the Bulgarians." Two days later (October 7), Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, two provinces which she had occupied for thirty years. The Powers recognized Ferdinand's sovereignty in April, 1909. The Porte bowed to the inevitable, and accepted an indemnity from both Powers.

Bulgaria
declared
her inde-
pendence,
Oct. 5,
1908

The Eastern question had meanwhile entered on a new phase. The Young Turks, or party of reform, brought about a bloodless revolution in Constantinople on July 24, 1908, the Sultan restoring the constitution of 1876. The warring races within the empire united in celebrating the

The
Young
Turks

Revolution
and
counter-
revolution

downfall of their common enemy; a general election took place, and a parliament met in the autumn. The advantage that Bulgaria and Austria had taken of the changed situation in Constantinople, combined with the irritation caused by the rigorous policy of the reformers, gave the Sultan the opportunity he sought. A counter-revolution broke out in April; but the Macedonian troops remained loyal to the Young Turks and marched upon the capital. Abdul-Hamid was deposed on April 27, 1909, and his brother was brought forth from his confinement and set upon the throne under the title of Mehmed V. The following day the deposed Sultan was removed with part of his harem to Saloniki, where he was kept a prisoner.

Abdul-
Hamid
deposed,
April 27,
1909

Disruptive
policy of
Young
Turks

The Young Turks, instead of extending their reforms by inviting the coöperation of the various creeds and races, set about the realization of their ideal of a centralized military State. Large sums were spent on the army and navy, the Macedonian Christians and the Albanians were disarmed with needless brutality, and the Albanian mountaineers were goaded into revolt. In short, the Young Turks disappointed the hopes which their profession of Liberal principles had called forth. It was soon apparent that the doctrine of "Ottomanism," far from implying the perfect equality of all Ottoman subjects, meant the abrogation of the rights of the non-Turkish races. Political clubs were suppressed, public meetings were forbidden, the privileges of the Christian

"Ottoman-
ism" in
theory and
practice

churches were interfered with, and every effort was made to crush out the national sentiments of the various nationalities. As a result, secret conspiracies were formed and insurgent bands appeared in Macedonia, aided by sympathizers in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece.

When the four protecting Powers of Crete, namely, Great Britain, Russia, France, and Italy, decided to evacuate the island in 1909, the Cretan government resolved that their officials should swear allegiance to the king of Greece. Intense excitement prevailed in Greece, especially in the army, and a secret society called the Military League was formed among the officers to bring about the union. The disappointment and indignation led to a revolt of the Military League at Athens in August. At the beginning of the year 1910 Greece was in a state of confusion verging on chaos. For months the dynasty was in danger; but under the guidance of the eminent Cretan politician Venizelos, a National Assembly was convoked and the League simultaneously was dissolved. Venizelos became prime minister of Greece in October, and proceeded at once to carry out his program of reform. The Council of State was revived, and other notable changes were compulsory elementary education, exclusion of military and naval officers from the Chamber, and permission of foreigners to enter the service of the State. The reorganization of the army was entrusted to French, and that of the navy to British officers. The revision of

Affairs
in Crete

The
Military
League
in Greece

The Cretan
Venizelos
became
premier of
Greece,
1910

Revision of
Greek
Constitu-
tion, 1911

the Constitution was completed on June 5, 1911.

Meanwhile the unrest in Crete was unabated, and the Cretan government was cautioned by the Powers against the continuance of a provocative attitude towards Turkey; this was followed by an ultimatum. Matters came to a head in 1912, when extremists in the Cretan Assembly elected delegates to the Greek Assembly. The deputies vainly attempted to force their way into the Chamber at Athens on June 1, 1912. Four months later Greece addressed an ultimatum to the Porte, and the Cretan question found a practical solution in the admission of the deputies to the Chamber. Soon afterwards a minister was dispatched to Canea to take over the government in the name of the King of the Hellenes.

Cretan
deputies
admitted
to Greek
Chamber,
1912

The war between Italy and Turkey had led to military measures being taken by all the Balkan states as a precaution against the mobilization of the Turkish army. The deplorable condition of Macedonia and Albania, where murder and pillage were everywhere rife, convinced the Balkan governments that only a concerted action on their part could end the situation. Thus was brought about the confederation of Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro against Turkey. A few weeks later Greece also joined the alliance.

Inception
of the
Balkan
League

The Balkan War

European diplomacy vainly attempted to avert the threatened hostilities; but the allies

had armed for a purpose and would brook no restraint. The lust of battle and the greed of conquest now possessed them; faith in their united strength made them defiant. Even on the eve of the presentation of the note of warning drawn up by the Powers, Montenegro (which on the fiftieth anniversary of Nicholas's reign in August, 1910, had proclaimed itself a kingdom) formally declared war, and threw its troops across the Albanian frontier. The other members of the League announced their intention of dealing directly with Turkey, and simultaneously presented an ultimatum demanding immediate autonomy for Macedonia, Christian governors for the provinces, and the withdrawal of Turkish troops. Turkey rejected these demands, recalled her representatives from the Balkan States, and arranged peace with Italy.

Montenegro began war, Oct. 8, 1912

The Balkan struggle at the outset was ostensibly a war of liberation, but while having this as their common object each member of the Balkan League had one or more special objects in view. Montenegro aimed at the possession of Scutari as well as the conquest of the western parts of Novibazar and Kossovo. Serbia was anxious to obtain access to the Adriatic, as well as to reclaim Old Serbia. Bulgaria wished for expansion on the side of Thrace, and cast longing eyes on the Ægean port of Saloniki. Greece pursued a general policy of expansion, and the full achievement of this policy could not fail to bring her interests into conflict

Special motives of the allies

with those of her allies, particularly Bulgaria.

Over-
whelming
victories of
the allies

Fighting had now become general, the allies penetrating the Ottoman territory and sweeping the Turks before them. The Bulgarians, with about 300,000 men, forced their way toward Adrianople, seizing Mustafa Pasha, an important strategic position to the northwest of Adrianople, on October 19, and occupying Kirk Kilise on the east six days later. By the 27th, Adrianople was closely besieged. Then followed the rout of the Turkish forces in the great battle of Lüle-Burgas, the Turks being driven back upon Constantinople.

Battle of
Lüle-
Burgas,
Oct. 28-31,
1912

Greek
campaign

The Greeks meanwhile invaded Macedonia, capturing Ellassona on October 24, and after various minor successes cut the communication between Saloniki and Monastir. In Epirus the Greeks broke down the Turkish resistance till they found themselves before the formidable defenses of Janina, where they were destined to remain for some months.

Servian
campaign

In the northwest, the Servians captured Prishtina on October 22, and Novibazar, Sienitza, and Üsküp, the former capital of Old Servia, within the next four days. The Servian forces then advanced upon Monastir, where the Turkish army in Macedonia prepared to make its final stand. The stronghold surrendered on November 18, the Turks losing 7,000 killed and wounded and 10,000 prisoners, besides 51 guns. The Turkish losses were about 5,000.

With Macedonia in the hands of the allies,

with the victorious Bulgarian forces sweeping through Thrace and threatening the approaches to the capital, the Turks prepared to make their last desperate stand at the Chatalja lines, and at the same time sued for peace. In the meantime the allies were vying with each other in the attempt to capture Saloniki. The Greeks occupied the coveted city on November 8, the Servians and Bulgarians also entering two days later. King George of Greece entered Saloniki on November 12 amid great enthusiasm.

Turks made their final stand at Chatalja

Saloniki occupied by the Greeks, Nov. 8, 1912

An armistice was concluded on December 3 between Turkey and the Balkan States. Greece, however, was not a signatory. A peace conference assembled in London in December, 1912, attended by plenipotentiaries of Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Greece, and Turkey. The proceedings were protracted, owing to the impracticable proposals put forward by Turkey, and to the unwillingness of the Porte to give up Adrianople and the Ægean islands. As a result of this deadlock the allies suspended the conference on January 6, 1913. The Powers reluctantly intervened, and a collective note was presented to the Turkish government urging the acceptance of the terms of the allies. The Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, summoned a Grand Council which on January 22 decided to comply with the recommendations of the Powers. Next morning, however, the Young Turks effected a *coup d' état*, overthrew the Cabinet, murdered Nazim Pasha, the minister of war and commander-in-chief,

Peace conference in London proved abortive

Coup d' état in Constantinople

Hostilities
resumed

and set up Mahmud Shevket Pasha as Grand Vizier with the declared policy of retaining Adrianople. Realizing that further negotiations were useless, the allies denounced the armistice on January 29, and hostilities were vigorously resumed.

Assassina-
tion of
King
George of
Greece,
March 18,
1913

Fall of
Adrianople
and Scutari

Treaty of
London,
May 30
1913 ter-
minated
the Turko-
Balkan
War

Disruption
of the
Balkan
League

Fresh Turkish defeats followed in quick succession. Janina surrendered to the Crown Prince Constantine of Greece on March 6, a few days before he succeeded his father King George, who was assassinated at Saloniki by a Greek degenerate on March 18. Three weeks later Adrianople was taken by storm by the combined forces of Bulgaria and Servia (March 26); and on April 23 Scutari surrendered to the Montenegrins after a six months' siege. Only at Chatalja did the Turks hold their own, and at times take the offensive. The Powers once more intervened to bring the war to a close, and on May 30, 1913, a treaty of peace was signed in London terminating the war between Turkey and the Balkan federation. This instrument provided for the cession by Turkey to the allies of all territory west of the Enos-Midia line, as well as of Crete, the future of Albania and the Ægean islands being left to the decision of the Powers, and financial questions to the adjudication of an International Commission sitting at Paris.

The treaty was short-lived, for the allies began to quarrel over the division of the spoils of war. The League was broken up, and the Balkans were again bathed in blood. The disruption of

the Balkan League was, in the words of the London *Times*, "the result of a number of contributory causes, the greatest of which was undoubtedly the secular mutual hatred of the Servians and Bulgarians and the contempt in which the latter held their Greek neighbors. It is, indeed, greatly to the credit of the authors of the Balkan League that they were able to suppress these enmities long enough to draw profit from the temporary union of the three States. Exterior causes for the dissolution of the alliance are to be found in the formation of an independent Albania, and in the desire of Roumania to secure from Bulgaria the realization of her long-cherished territorial aspirations in the shape of a substantial recognition of her neutrality during the first part of the war against Turkey." The Servians on their part had no intention of living up to the letter of the alliance, and so giving up to Bulgaria territory won by Servian arms. Nor did the Greeks intend to yield possession of Saloniki and Kavala. On the contrary, the Greeks pushed forward into those parts of Macedonia which the Bulgarians held to be within their own sphere of occupation. Bulgarian troops were forcibly dislodged from many towns, and frequent armed encounters took place as a result of these Greco-Bulgarian disputes.

The Second Balkan War

The outbreak of the Second Balkan War was precipitated by the action of Bulgaria in ordering

Bulgaria
crushed
by her
former
allies

Adrianople
reoccupied
by Turks

Treaty of
Bucharest,
Aug. 10,
1913

a general advance of her troops against her former allies; and though no formal declaration of war had yet been made, "unofficial fighting" took place at the end of June and the beginning of July. The Bulgarians got the worst of these encounters. On July 5 and 6 the Balkan alliance was denounced, and the Greeks and Servians attacked their former ally with intense vigor and at times ferocity. Montenegro, though nominally at war, did not actually encounter the Bulgarians during this campaign. On July 10 Roumania proclaimed war, and seized Silistria, at the same time dispatching a column to threaten Sofia. Two days later the Turkish army, seizing the opportunity presented by Bulgaria's difficulties, issued from behind the Chatalja lines and swept across the Enos-Midia line, and reoccupied Adrianople in less than a fortnight.

Against such overwhelming odds, and with the enemy converging upon the capital, Bulgaria realized that her fight was in vain, and King Ferdinand sued for peace. Roumania was promised all the territory which she demanded, and an armistice was concluded on July 30. A treaty of peace was signed on August 10, at Bucharest. This treaty gave to Servia the whole of Macedonia occupied by her troops, also the purely Bulgarian lands in the east of the old Turkish vilayet of Kossovo. Greece gained a considerable extension of territory, including Saloniki, Doiran, Demir-Hissar, Seres, Drama, and Kavala. The new frontiers were so drawn

as to exclude Bulgaria from any natural access to the Ægean in the west.

The Turko-Bulgarian boundary question was finally settled by the treaty of Constantinople on September 29, Turkey retaining practically all Thrace east of the Maritsa river and a semi-circle of territory west of it and westward of the sacred city of Adrianople.

Treaty of
Constanti-
nople,
Sept. 29,
1913

“The settlement of the Balkans will probably last for at least a generation, not because all the parties to the settlement are content, but because it will take at least a generation for the dissatisfied states to recuperate. Bulgaria is in far worse condition than she was before the war with Turkey. The Second Balkan War, caused by her policy of greed and arrogance, destroyed 100,000 of the flower of her manhood, lost her all of Macedonia and eastern Thrace, and increased her expenses enormously. Her total gains, whether from Turkey or from her former allies, were but eighty miles of seaboard on the Ægean, with a Thracian hinterland woefully depopulated. Bulgaria is in despair, but full of hate. However, with a reduced population and a bankrupt treasury, she will need many years to recuperate before she can hope to upset the new arrangement. And it will be hard even to attempt that; for the status quo is founded upon the principle of a balance of power in the Balkan peninsula; and Roumania has definitely announced herself as a Balkan power. Serbia, and more particularly Greece, have made acquisi-

General
effects of
the
Balkan
War

*Political
Science
Quarterly*,
Dec., 1913

tions beyond their wildest dreams at the beginning of the war and have now become strong adherents of the policy of equilibrium."

In Asia
lies the
future of
the Turks

The future of the Turks is in Asia, and Turkey in Asia just now is in a most unhappy condition. Syria, Armenia, and Arabia are demanding autonomy; and the former respect of the other Moslems for the governing race, i. e., the Turks, has received a severe blow. Whether Turkey can pull itself together, consolidate its resources and develop the immense possibilities of its Asiatic possessions remains of course to be seen. But it will have no power and probably no desire to upset the new arrangement in the Balkans.

The settlement is probably a landmark in Balkan history in that it brings to a close the period of tutelage exercised by the great Powers over the Christian states of the Balkans.

Albania

While the Balkan belligerents were adjusting their differences, the conference of ambassadors in London was settling the status of the new autonomous state of Albania. Pending the selection of a ruler, an international commission of control administered the affairs of the state; but on November 23, 1913, it was officially announced that Prince William of Wied had been chosen as the future sovereign of Albania. The appointment of a European Prince was not popular among all sections of Albanians; many of whom, strangely enough, would have preferred

Prince
William
of Wied
made
ruler, 1913

a Moslem ruler. The greater part of Albania has consequently been in a state of anarchy, and the crisis has been rendered more serious by the refusal of the Northern Albanians to take up arms against their compatriots. In June, 1914, Durazzo was in a state of siege, and the position of Prince William was extremely precarious.

Japan

The failure of Russia to evacuate Manchuria in accordance with the terms of the Russo-Chinese treaty, and the attempts of Russia to gain a foothold in Korea, at the same time flouting the claims of Japan, led to a prolonged diplomatic conflict, and ended in one of the most stupendous, and for Russia one of the most disastrous, wars of modern times. That an Asiatic nation, comparatively small and with no great experience in modern warfare, should dare to challenge one of the great military Powers of the West, filled the world with amazement. Few expected Japan to show such perfect organization, such strategic genius, such fearlessness and endurance. On the other hand few were prepared for the incompetence and ineffectiveness of the Russian war machine. Russia, moreover, was handicapped by having to transport her troops over a single line of railway to a point 6,000 miles from the base.

Reverse after reverse was inflicted upon the Russians both on land and sea. Port Arthur was surrendered to the Japanese after one of the

The Russo-
Japanese
War, 1904-
1905

Port
Arthur
surrenders,
Jan. 1, 1905

Battle of
Mukden,
Feb. 20-
Mar. 15,
1905

Russian
fleet
destroyed
at
Tsushima,
May 27-28,
1905

Treaty of
Ports-
mouth,
1905

Cost and
losses of
the war

most desperate series of engagements ever recorded. The capture of Port Arthur released General Nogi and 70,000 men, who at once marched northward to join forces with the Japanese army in Manchuria operating under General Oyama. In the great battle of Mukden, which lasted from February 20 to March 15 and in which about 400,000 Russians and 500,000 Japanese were engaged, along a battle line extending over one-hundred miles in length, the Russians were swept back in disorder. But the crowning catastrophe was yet to come. Two months later the Russian fleet was practically annihilated in the battle of Tsushima. This staggering blow to Russian arms convinced the world that hostilities should cease. A peace conference was arranged through the good offices of President Roosevelt, and a treaty of peace was signed on September 5 at Portsmouth, N. H. The treaty secured for Japan a controlling influence in Korea, the transfer of Russia's lease of Port Arthur, and the possession of southern Sakhalin, while providing for the evacuation of Manchuria by both armies. The moderation of the Japanese government caused universal astonishment, and the disappointment of the Japanese masses showed itself in serious rioting, Tokio for a time being under martial law.

The war had cost Japan about \$500,000,000 and Russia slightly less. Each nation had mobilized about 1,000,000 men; of these, 230,000

Japanese and 220,000 Russians had been killed or wounded, or died of sickness.

The last few years have witnessed a transition in industrial development, and a general expansion of Japanese trade, together with improved conditions of labor and retrenchment in expenditure on the army and navy. New industries have been built up, and new economic conditions have in consequence arisen.

Industrial
develop-
ment of
Japan

On the renewal in 1911 of the alliance with Great Britain for a further period of ten years, a new condition was introduced whereby it was agreed that if either of the contracting parties was at war with a Power with which it had a treaty of arbitration neither of the parties should be under an obligation to give its support. The following year was memorable for the death of the Emperor Mutsuhito, and for the dramatic suicide, simultaneously with the funeral of the Emperor, of General Count Nogi, the hero of Port Arthur and Mukden. The Emperor was succeeded by his son Prince Yoshihito Harunomiya.

Anglo-
Japanese
alliance
renewed,
July 13,
1911

Death of
Emperor
Mutsuhito,
1912

The passing of the Californian anti-alien land bill caused considerable feeling in Japan, and repeated protests were made to the government of the United States.

Californian
land legis-
lation
resented,
1913

China

The victory of Japan broke the spell which had held the East for untold centuries. The West was not unconquerable. In no country was the reverberation louder than in China. The re-

Western
ideas and
institutions
introduced

Gooch,
*History
of Our
Time*

First
meeting of
National
Assembly,
Oct. 3,
1910

Crusade
against
opium

actionary nationalism which had culminated in the Boxer movement gave place to an enthusiasm for Western learning and Western methods. Decrees appeared condemning foot-binding, recommending intermarriage between Manchus and Chinese, abolishing the system of literary examinations for official employment, and forbidding torture and mutilation. Railways were built and schools were opened, Japanese instructors were engaged, and large numbers went to study abroad. A commission was sent to Europe in 1906 to examine the systems of government, and on its return the Regent announced her intention to grant a Constitution. In 1908 she and the puppet Emperor died within a day of each other; but the death of the most remarkable personality of modern China brought no change. Provincial assemblies were set up in 1909, and conducted their business with dignity and skill. A National Assembly, composed chiefly of officials and nominees, met at Peking in 1910 and demanded that the first Parliament, originally promised for 1917, should meet without delay.

Almost more remarkable as an evidence of reforming zeal was the crusade against opium. Though depending on the duty for several millions a year, the Indian Government undertook in 1907 to stop the export to China by gradual steps within 10 years, on condition of a corresponding reduction in her own production of the poppy. The bargain was loyally kept, and

in 1911 China urged the Indian Government to coöperate in suppressing the traffic in two years.

China had been the scene of so many revolutionary uprisings in modern times that the world was not a little surprised at the complete success of the anti-monarchical movement in 1911 and 1912. A republic was officially established on February 12, 1912, the Manchu dynasty coming to an end after a sovereignty of 267 years. The last Imperial act was an edict conferring upon Yuan Shih-kai, the prime minister, plenary powers to institute a republic; thus gracefully did the monarchy bow to the inevitable and retire to the background. When the republic was first declared at Nanking on January 1, Dr. Sun Yat Sen was made the provisional president; but he stepped aside for the more widely acceptable and more powerful Yuan Shih-kai.

Chinese
Republic
established,
Feb. 12,
1912

For several months the peace of the Chinese Republic was disturbed by numerous outbreaks and mutinies. But these the government was able to crush, mainly because of Yuan Shih-kai's securing a foreign loan, and by timely payment of the Northern troops further defection was checked. On October 6, 1913, Provisional President Yuan Shih-kai was duly elected president, and on his inauguration four days later the republic was formally recognized by the Powers. Recognition by the United States had been conceded on May 2 previous, greatly to the delight of the Chinese.

Yuan Shih-
kai first
president,
1913-

President Yuan Shih-kai stands out in Chinese

Collapse of
parliamentary gov-
ernment

politics not as the head of a constitutional government but as a virtual dictator. Before the close of the year the failure of Young China as an effective political force was clearly demonstrated. Parliamentary government collapsed, and the character of the old régime was practically restored, in the hands of the masterful Yuan Shih-kai.

The United States of America

Roosevelt's
second
term,
1905-1909

The election of 1904 is remarkable in that for the first time in the history of the United States a Vice President, who had succeeded to the higher office by the death of the President, was himself nominated for the presidency. Roosevelt was reëlected by a large majority.

Influx of
Japanese
into the
Pacific
States

One of the most notable achievements of his second term was his mediation between Russia and Japan in 1905; but the immediate results to this country proved embarrassing to the administration, and introduced new social and economic problems. Hordes of Japanese poured into the Pacific States, and so keenly was the influx resented in California that Japanese children were barred from attending the State schools. The sending of the fleet to the Pacific gave the appearance of strained relations; but the Washington government by tact and firmness induced Japan to restrict settlement in America, despite her treaty rights.

The whole question of immigration was gone into, and a stricter attitude was assumed towards

European immigrants. In the past the greater portion of the newcomers had been drawn from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia; but the influx of these had declined, and instead the majority of the immigrants were now coming from the south and east of Europe. The arrival of a lower type gave cause for alarm, and in 1906 the government made a knowledge of English an essential qualification for naturalization, and in the following year increased the restrictions at Ellis Island.

Stricter
immigra-
tion
measures

Knowledge
of English
required for
citizenship

Roosevelt's second administration was darkened by wide-spread distress. In 1906 the California earthquake wrought tremendous havoc, especially at San Francisco where many costly buildings were overthrown. Fire completed the work of devastation. Three quarters of the city, including the whole business section and all public buildings except the Mint, were destroyed; more than 200,000 persons were rendered homeless, and the property loss was estimated at about \$400,000,000. Congress appropriated \$2,500,000 for relief, while contributions poured in from all parts of the United States. With splendid courage and perseverance the inhabitants of San Francisco immediately set to work to build up a new and grander city upon the ruins and ashes of the old.

Earth-
quake and
devasta-
tion in
California,
1906

A new San
Francisco

This disaster was followed by the money panic of 1907, during which the Stock Exchange was demoralized and most of the banks suspended cash payments for several weeks. The interven-

Money
panic, 1907

tion of the Treasury, which placed all its surplus on deposit with the banks in October, saved the country from the further destruction of business interests. (

Oklahoma
a State,
1907

During the same year Oklahoma was admitted to statehood. It was formed by uniting Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory, thus bringing the total number of states up to forty-six in 1907. Three other important bills were passed by Congress, namely, the Railway Rate bill—designed to give greater power to the Interstate Commerce Act,—the Pure Food and Drug bill, and the Meat Inspection bill. The object of the two last-named laws is to protect the health of the people and to encourage all dealers to offer for sale only the best and most wholesome foods and the purest drugs and medicines.

Protection
of public
health

Conserva-
tion of
natural
resources

President Roosevelt did his utmost to check the wholesale destruction of the natural resources of the country, declaring that the soil, mines, quarries, forests, and streams of the nation should be used for the good of the community at large, and should be safeguarded against waste and destruction.

Larned,
*History
for Ready
Reference*

In the interval between the presidential elections of 1904 and 1908 the Trust and the Tariff questions had both received an increase of attention and of real study, and were factors of more influence in the latter than in the former election. The energy with which President Roosevelt had pressed both legislative and executive action, towards a more effective restraint and

regulation of monopolistic combinations, had greatly strengthened his party in public favor, though Wall Street lost no opportunity of expressing its dislike of his policy. His extraordinary personal force, moreover, had made itself felt in many quickenings and stimulations of public spirit and of governmental action, which gave a cheering experience to the country. Popular satisfaction with the "Roosevelt policies" and with their champion would have given Mr. Roosevelt a renomination by his party, if he had not emphatically reiterated his pledge of four years before, that "under no circumstances" would he "be a candidate for or accept another nomination."

The
"Roosevelt
policies"

In the election of 1908 the Republican candidate was William Howard Taft, a close friend and colleague of President Roosevelt. Taft was elected by an overwhelming popular vote and by two-thirds of the electoral votes, the democratic candidate, William J. Bryan, being defeated for the third time. In state and congressional elections the Democrats were more successful, and the Republican majority in both Houses of Congress was in consequence greatly diminished. The new President was expected to continue the "Roosevelt policies," but he differed in temper and method, if not in ideas. The business world rejoiced at the prospect of less interference; but the progressive section of the Republican party became restive. The Insurgents, as they were called, were bent upon breaking the power of the

Election
of 1908.
Taft
elected
by large
majority

Dissension
in the
Republican
ranks

bosses, and in 1909 Speaker Cannon was overthrown. These things rendered President Taft's administration a difficult one; and the President's efforts to prevent a final split in the party met with only partial success.

Payne-
Aldrich
tariff

The Payne-Aldrich tariff caused dissatisfaction among both Democrats and Republicans, and was vigorously attacked by the Insurgents, greater and more extended reductions being demanded. Several bills were passed by Congress providing for some of these reductions, notably on wool and woolen goods, but these were vetoed by President Taft.

Popular
dissatisfac-
tion

The Republican party was daily becoming unpopular. The increased cost of living was laid at the door of the administration for not reducing the tariff; and at the congressional elections in the autumn the Democrats secured a sweeping majority throughout the country. The confusion of the Republican party had moreover not been lessened by the return of Roosevelt from his triumphant European tour.

Canadian
Reciprocity

In 1911 President Taft tried to bring about a better understanding with Canada by means of a Reciprocity treaty, providing for the free exchange of all primary food products and a reduction of duties upon secondary food products and certain manufactured articles. The agreement was denounced by the Progressives as a discrimination against the farmer; while the high-tariff Republicans were opposed to it for well defined reasons. The bill was with difficulty

carried through Congress; but Canada withheld its consent as a result of the election of 1911, the fear of ultimate absorption influencing the decision.

Taft's administration was noteworthy for the vigorous manner in which the Sherman Anti-trust law was enforced. The Supreme Court gave a new interpretation to this law, distinguishing for the first time between reasonable and unreasonable restraint. On May 15, 1911, the decision was handed down that combinations were illegal only when exercising an unreasonable restraint upon trade, or when their "direct and necessary effect" was to stifle competition. Soon afterwards decrees were secured against the Standard Oil Company, the American Tobacco Company, and other corporations, ordering them to be dissolved into their component parts. The belief prevails that the remedy largely has failed to cure many of the evils against which the law was originally directed.

Prosecution of the trusts under the Sherman Act

The conflict between federal and local authority regarding the control of railroads became very acute. By court decisions the States were placed under various restrictions, while the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission was considerably extended. The regulation of freight rates called wide attention to the prevailing anomalous and unfair charges on certain lines. Increase in rates is now forbidden by the Commission. Has a State the right to fix passenger rates within its own borders? This

Railroad control

Regulation of railroad rates

important question has now been settled. Minnesota passed a law fixing the passenger rate at two cents a mile, and this the circuit court at St. Paul held invalid, on the ground that the rate discriminated against interstate passengers who had to pay a higher rate. An appeal was taken, and the Supreme Court, in a decision handed down on June 9, 1913, upheld the right of a State to fix the railroad rates within the State, even where such rates conflict with interstate rates, provided they are not made confiscatory. The effects of this decision will be far-reaching.

New Mexico and Arizona States

In the beginning of 1912, the total number of States was increased to forty-eight by the admission of New Mexico and Arizona.

Panama Canal tolls controversy

Toward the close of 1912 a controversy arose with Great Britain regarding the interpretation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty and the right of the United States to exempt American shipping from payment of Canal tolls. In spite, however, of the British protest President Taft signed the bill passed by Congress on August 16, 1912, providing for the government and regulating the use of the Panama Canal, and admitting free of tolls American ships engaged in the coast-wise trade. Public opinion was sharply divided on the question, many people holding that the circumstances attending the construction of the Canal were so different from those contemplated in the treaty that no infraction of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was being committed; while others again held that the British protest was

well taken and that the United States ought to live up to her treaty obligations. President Taft attempted to justify the action of Congress, but his successor held a contrary opinion.

In the Spring of 1912, Theodore Roosevelt announced his intention of again becoming a candidate for the presidency, and assumed the leadership of the progressive element in the Republican party. After a bitter contest in the Republican convention at Chicago in June, 1912, Taft was renominated for another term. Vice President Sherman was also renominated, but died a few days before the general election. Roosevelt and his followers thereupon withdrew from the party and instituted a new political party which took the name of National Progressive and appealed for the support of Progressives and Democrats alike. At its convention in Chicago early in August, Roosevelt was nominated for president and Governor Hiram Johnson of California for vice president. The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, formerly President of Princeton University and at the moment governor of New Jersey. This three-cornered contest resulted in a decisive victory for the Democrats, and the party was returned to power after sixteen years of Republican rule. An interesting feature of the campaign was the prominent part taken by women, especially on behalf of the Progressive party, for the latter had incorporated a woman's suffrage plank in its platform.

Roosevelt
presidential
candidate,
1912

Disruption
of Repub-
lican and
rise of Pro-
gressive
party

Woodrow
Wilson
elected

The direct
primary

The election of 1912 is of special interest in that it was the first test of the presidential preference primaries. The direct primary had met with popular approval, as it enabled the people to eliminate the boss and to assume control. The widening of its scope was advocated by the Progressive party, and though the new plan was not free from defects, it gave promise of healthier government for the future.

The Initiative,
Referendum,
and Recall

There is a growing tendency in American politics for the people to assume a more immediate share in the government. This is significantly shown in the spread of the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. Under the Initiative, measures may be submitted to popular vote on the petition of a varying proportion of the voters (usually eight or ten per cent); under the Referendum, statutes passed by the legislature may be subject to a popular vote upon the petition of a smaller proportion of the voters; under the Recall, the plebiscite may be invoked to determine if the people wish to remove a particular official and to effect such removal. The method of direct legislation by means of the Initiative and Referendum has been widely introduced, but the Recall has not spread so rapidly. In Oregon, California, and Arizona the Recall extends even to judges; but conservative men have denounced this as an impairment of judicial independence.

The year 1913 is noteworthy in that two amendments were made to the United States

constitution. The sixteenth amendment was declared on February 25, and provides for the levying of an income tax. The seventeenth amendment, which was proclaimed on May 31, provides for the direct election of United States senators.

Sixteenth
and
Seven-
teenth
Amend-
ments

The Wilson administration carried out two important measures during the first year of office. The first was the Underwood Tariff Act, which reduced the rate on many imports, and places several articles, particularly foodstuffs, on the free list. Incorporated in this law was the new income tax measure, by which every person in the United States and every American citizen residing abroad must pay a tax on the net yearly income over a certain minimum. The income tax exemption was fixed at \$4,000 for married persons and \$3,000 for others. The other great measure was the Owen-Glass Currency Act, designed to prevent financial panics and to end the domination of the so-called Money Trust, and which provided for the reorganization of the entire banking and currency system of the United States. The fundamental feature of the Act was the creation of a new class of banks, to be known as Federal Reserve Banks, to act as stabilizing elements in the banking and financial world. The defect of the existing system had been the want of a credit system, there being no bank rate, no rediscounting facilities, and no general market for commercial paper, the common American paper being the one-name prom-

Underwood
Tariff
Act

Income
tax

Owen-
Glass
Currency
Act

issory note, making the whole system entirely inadequate for foreign trade.

Parcel
post
instituted,
Jan. 1,
1913

The introduction of the parcel post on January 1, 1913, inaugurated a new era in the history of the United States post office. Agitation for the parcel post had been mainly due to the excessive charges made by the express companies. The postal savings banks, which were established in 1910, have been a marked success, and the system has been gradually extended.

Postal
Savings
Banks

Commis-
sion
govern-
ment of
cities

The adoption of what is called commission government, that is, the government of a city by a commission instead of by a mayor and other city officials, marks a new idea of municipal reform, and promises well for the better government of American cities. In many cities the representative system had completely broken down, and corruption and jobbery had been rife. The first city to institute this reform was Galveston, Texas, in 1901. Galveston had been hard hit. The city was practically swept away by a tidal wave, and its credit had been impaired by years of misrule. The situation called for a drastic remedy. The local business men took the matter in hand, and the civic government was reorganized on the basis of a large business concern. Under the Galveston plan five commissioners elected by the voters have entire control of municipal affairs. The first of these is called mayor-president, who exercises a general supervision over the affairs of the city. He has however no power to veto. The other commis-

Galveston
plan

sioners divide with each other the administration of the various departments. One is at the head of the police department, another of water and sewerage, a third of revenue and expenditures, and so on. The commissioners have superintendents under them to take charge of details. They have power as a board to appoint and remove all city officials, to determine all salaries and expenditures, and to grant franchises for the use of the streets. The Des Moines plan is slightly different. Unlike the Galveston plan there is a recall for all city officials, and the referendum is applied to the granting of all franchises and, in general to any measure on the application of one-fourth of the voters. The Boston plan, adopted in 1909, is radically different from the other two. The mayor is elected for four years, but is subject to recall in the middle of his term. The mayor nominates the heads of departments, and may remove them at any time, but they have the appointment of all their subordinates; otherwise the mayor has little executive power. There is a council of nine members chosen for three years. This is a purely legislative body and all its acts are subject to the mayor's veto. A permanent finance commission, appointed by the state, examines into all municipal affairs at its discretion and publishes its findings and recommendations. The police department is under the sole direction of a state commissioner. The commission movement has spread rapidly, and had already

Des
Moines
plan

Boston
plan

been adopted in about 300 cities and 38 states. Limiting the number of commissioners not only concentrates responsibility of government but secures the advantages of a "short ballot."

The Philippine Islands

William
Howard
Taft, first
civil
governor

The
question
of inde-
pendence

The pacification of the Philippine Islands was virtually ended with the capture of Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901, though there have since been several sharp clashes with the natives, especially with the Moros in Mindanao. The first civil governor was William H. Taft, and a Legislative Body was appointed consisting of seven commissioners, four Americans and three Filipinos. A Legislative Assembly was elected on July 30, 1907. The Islands are divided into 36 provinces, each under an elected governor, and all the towns have self-government through an elected president and councillors. The recognition of the absolute independence of the Philippine Islands is one of the problems confronting the United States government. The Secretary of War reported to the President in 1910 that the Filipinos were unprepared for self-government, and that the better if not larger class did not desire it. The natives and Americans in favor of independence hold that the number and the lack of civilization of the non-Christian tribes have been used as an argument against the ability of the Filipinos to govern themselves. The Washington government, whatever its inclinations may be, is of opinion that the time is

not ripe for granting independence, since the progress of the islands would be thereby retarded, and internal dissension would result which might involve the United States in international complications.

The Latin American Republics

The Latin American republics form a group by themselves, having little in common with the great republic of the north. The two Americas are alike in having republican forms of government, social equality, and detachment from European politics; but in race and traditions, as well as in ideas and temperament, the contrast is most marked. The Spanish Americans differ so essentially from the citizens of the United States that the races do not draw naturally together; even the American name which they share in common does not constitute any real tie. What then is the attitude of the peoples of Latin America toward their northern neighbor? In a recent book written by an eminent historian and diplomat, this question calls forth the following observations:—

“As regards the United States there is a balance between attraction and suspicion. The South Americans desire to be on good terms with her, and their wisest statesmen feel the value of her diplomatic action in trying to preserve peace between those of their republics whose smouldering enmities often threaten to burst into flame. More than once in recent years this value has

Attitude
towards
the United
States

Bryce,
*South
America*,
511

been tested. On the other hand, as has already been observed, they are jealous of their own dignity, not at all disposed to be patronized, and quick to resent anything bordering on a threat, even when addressed not to themselves, but to some other republic. It is as the disinterested, the absolutely disinterested and unselfish, advocate of peace and good will, that the United States will have most influence in the Western Hemisphere, and that influence, gently and tactfully used, may be of incalculable service to mankind."

Some of the Latin American states have reached a high degree of material prosperity, especially Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. Mexico too achieved a surprising degree of progress and prosperity under the iron rule of President Diaz. Peru may be counted next, while the remaining republics—Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Paraguay, Venezuela, and the Central American States—must still be regarded as more or less doubtful, and as lying within the political storm-belt of the American Continent.

Relations
with the
United
States

Cuba

The various revolutionary movements have greatly complicated the relations with the United States. In Cuba a negro uprising in 1912 assumed such serious proportions that several hundred American marines were landed to protect foreign property; but President Gomez was able to put down the insurrection, and the marines were withdrawn. In October of the same year marines were landed in the Dominican

Republic to protect the customhouses along the Haitian frontier, some of which had been seized by revolutionists. The United States was directly concerned, for the collection of the customs revenue had been supervised by agents of the United States government for the past five years. In October, 1913, the United States again had to interfere to make the warring factions cease their hostilities.

Dominican
Republic

In order to restore the finances of Honduras and Nicaragua President Taft negotiated treaties with them in 1911, under which the United States would make arrangements for a loan, supervise the customs service, and apply a certain part of the receipts to the payment of the foreign debt. The Senate would not ratify these treaties, but some of their provisions were carried out informally, an American being placed over the Nicaraguan customs and a substantial loan being made by American bankers. In August, 1912, the United States landed troops in Nicaragua to protect the lives and property of Americans, and they took part in several engagements.

Honduras
and
Nicaragua

U. S.
marines in
Nicaragua

Since the downfall of President Diaz, Mexico has been the scene of repeated revolutions, and has moreover been a source of grave anxiety to the United States government. Diaz resigned in May, 1911, and departed for Europe, leaving the country in the hands of the victorious revolutionists led by Francisco J. Madero. On Madero's election as constitutional president a number of further uprisings broke out, while

Mexican
revolutions

Madero
succeeds
Diaz, 1911

several districts were overrun by armed bands of brigands, the authorities being unable to cope with the situation. The prevailing lawlessness recalled the early days of Mexican independence before the strong hand of Diaz had wrought so great a reform. President Madero in his turn was deposed in February, 1913, and General Victoriano Huerta, commander of the federal forces, was proclaimed provisional president. Four days later (February 22) Madero and Suarez, the deposed vice-president, were shot on the way to prison. Peace was as far away as ever. The northern states at once raised the standard of revolt, while in the south the Zapatistas, or followers of Emiliano Zapata, maintained a harassing opposition.

Madero
overthrown
and shot
Feb. 1913

United
States
refused to
recognize
President
Huerta

President Huerta's administration was recognized by Great Britain; but Washington refused recognition not only through sentiment but because of the feeling that it might foster the tendency of Central America to indiscriminate rebellions against authority. The attitude of the United States caused considerable tension between the two countries. President Wilson was firm in his determination that recognition would be withheld till Huerta, the blood-stained successor of the murdered Madero, was eliminated as head of the Mexican government.

Successes
of the
"Constitutionalists"

Meanwhile the "Constitutionalists" under the leadership of Carranza and Villa continued their activities, and gradually drove the federal forces out of northern Mexico. The enormities per-

petrated upon federals and foreigners served to dampen American enthusiasm for the insurrectos.

Up to this point President Wilson had pursued a policy of "watchful waiting;" but when Huerta crowned his indignities to the United States by arresting American marines at Tampico, and afterwards refusing to salute unconditionally the American flag, it was felt that the time had arrived to resort to force. An ultimatum was issued, and as the Mexican government would not give way a force of marines and sailors was landed at Vera Cruz on April 21, 1914. The customhouse was seized, and the entire city was subsequently occupied, but not without opposition and loss of life. President Wilson's action was justified by a resolution of the Senate authorizing the use of armed forces to back his demands. In commenting on the Mexican crisis, the London *Times* said: "It is not probable that Americans will care to rest their case for intervention on the failure of the various proposals submitted to the Mexican Government by President Wilson during the past thirteen months. On the other hand, they are not merely on strong but on unassailable ground when they point to the chaos in which the Southern Republic has floundered during the past three years, to the absence of any sign that the country can work out its own salvation, to the magnitude of the American stake in its fortunes, and to the peculiar obligations towards the nationals and interests of foreign Powers that the Monroe

Wilson's
policy of
"watchful
waiting"

Occupation of
Vera Cruz
by United
States
forces,
April 21,
1914

Intervention
vindicated

doctrine entails upon the Government of the United States. These are the real and legitimate reasons which not only condone American intervention, but make it imperative."

At the beginning of July, 1914, the outlook of the Federals was very black. The Constitution-
alists were steadily drawing nearer to the capital, the United States forces were resting on their arms at Vera Cruz, and the peace parleys between representatives of the intermediary states (Argentina, Brazil, Chile), the Mexican belligerents, and the United States, had proved abortive; the world therefore was not surprised when President Huerta resigned his office and sought safety in flight. Francisco Carbajal was appointed provisional president, the transfer of executive power being effected without disorder.

Resigna-
tion of
Huerta,
July 15,
1914

The Dominion of Canada

The story of Canada since the opening of the present century is one of continuous progress and expansion. The discovery of gold at Klondyke in 1899 led to a rush to the west. Chinese and Japanese coolies soon began to pour into the newly developed districts, and the aversion of the laboring classes to the Oriental immigrant became so pronounced that the Dominion government was compelled to take action. Drastic legislation was directed against the Chinese, while a diplomatic agreement for the restraint of immigration was negotiated with Japan in 1907.

Rush to
the West

Oriental
immigrants

The discovery of gold so near the Alaskan

border gave increased importance to the vexed question of the boundary between Alaska and Canada. This matter was settled by a mixed tribunal which met in London in 1903.

Alaska
boundary

Western Canada has attracted a vast number of American settlers, and American capital has flowed freely over the border. Indeed, it would be difficult to estimate the influence which the United States has exerted on the economic and political development of Canada. Both countries exhibit the same impetuous progressive spirit, while especially in recent years the United States has shown its respect for the aims and achievements of Canada, and has endeavored to draw closer the commercial bonds between the two countries.

United
States
part in
Canadian
develop-
ment

The creation of the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905 caused so great an influx that the government decided to raise its standard for European immigrants. The boundaries of the provinces of Quebec, Manitoba, and Ontario have been extended since 1912. The boundary of Quebec was extended to include the whole of the mainland north of her old boundary, excepting such territory over which Newfoundland has jurisdiction, the additional territory being approximately 355,000 square miles. Manitoba received an addition of about 178,000 square miles, and additional territory to the north was also given to Ontario amounting to about 146,500 square miles.

Alberta
and Sas-
katchewan

Extension
of bound-
aries

Two great questions stand out prominently in

the political history of Canada since the year 1910, namely Reciprocity with the United States and Canadian naval policy in relation to the Empire. The Reciprocity Agreement caused the defeat of the Laurier government in 1911, the Conservatives being carried into office after an interval of fifteen years on the Opposition benches. The new ministry was headed by Robert Laird Borden, while Sir Wilfrid Laurier became leader of the opposition.

Borden
ministry,
1911-

Mr. Borden at once pushed forward his naval bill, which provided for the construction of three battleships to be under the control of the British Admiralty. The bill passed the Canadian House of Commons in the face of strong Liberal opposition; but in the Senate, where the Liberals still had a majority, the bill was killed by the adoption of an amendment that it should first be submitted to the judgment of the country.

Naval bill

In British Columbia the question of Indian immigration assumed an acute form towards the close of 1913, as the result of a legal decision. A determined attempt was made in the summer of 1914 to land a shipload of Hindus at Vancouver, but the authorities ordered them to be deported. The Hindus could not understand why they being British subjects should be refused a landing in a British possession, and questioned the constitutionality of the Dominion act by which they were excluded. By the terms of the British North America Act the Canadian parliament is endowed with sovereign power in matters relat-

Indian
immigra-
tion

ing to immigration into any part of the Dominion, and this power the Court of Appeal upheld.

The Indian Empire

The work of the government in recent years has been greatly hampered by the activities of a group of anarchist revolutionaries operating chiefly in Bengal. The partition of the province of Bengal by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, in 1905, was seized upon by political agitators as an excuse for harassing the government and as an aid in fanning the embers of sedition. The partition was represented as an attack upon the social, historical, and linguistic ties of the Bengalis.

Partition
of Bengal

The task of Lord Minto, who succeeded Lord Curzon in 1905, was extremely difficult. Though he lent a sympathetic ear to native complaints, yet he found it necessary to apply stern measures of repression in cases of criminal violence and flagrant sedition. Meanwhile the policy of reform went on unabated. By the Indian Councils Act of 1909 the number of members serving on the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils was nearly trebled, an official majority being retained on the former only. The principle of election has been introduced side by side with that of nomination; while special safeguards have been provided in the interests of the Mohammedan minority.

Lord
Minto,
Viceroy,
1905-1910

Increased
native
representa-
tion

The coronation of the King-Emperor at Delhi in December, 1911, was an event of incalculable importance, and did much to cement the loyalty

Corona-
tion at
Delhi

Delhi
capital of
India

of the great mass of the Indian population to the Throne. The old historic capital was proclaimed the capital of the Indian Empire in place of Calcutta; the boundaries of Bengal were readjusted; and various measures of reform were promulgated.

Attempted
murder of
Lord
Hardinge

Lord Hardinge, who became Viceroy in 1910, was the victim of an attempted assassination during the State entry into Delhi two years later. The country was plunged in gloom, and men of prominence and public bodies all over India expressed their abhorrence and indignation.

India has taken heavy toll of English talent and English lives. No sacrifice has been deemed too great. The problems that America has to face in the Philippines have been encountered in India by the English, though on a vastly larger scale. To ameliorate the condition of the people, to fit them for ideals of government foreign to the life and traditions of the East, such is the fundamental policy of the ruling power.

Other Oversea Dominions of Great Britain

Australia
and New
Zealand

Australia and New Zealand have progressed in wealth and world importance. New Zealand is still fixed in its determination to remain outside the union of the sister colonies, and to work out its destiny alone. But both the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand are inspired by strong ambitions and a growing national spirit, adding the strength of two new nations to the Empire that enfolds them.

Compulsory military and naval service was inaugurated in Australia in 1911, and the scheme was extended by the Defense bill of the following year.

South Africa is now a legislative union within the Empire. It also established a citizen army, and the government found the new organization an effective weapon in crushing the general strike that threatened to paralyze the entire country in the beginning of 1914.

Union of
South
Africa

With the growing instinct of autonomy which actuates each member there is manifest a centripetal tendency in the development of the Empire. An array of stalwart nations now engirdles the Motherland; the fear of disintegration is more remote than ever. "One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne" is not a poet's dream.

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